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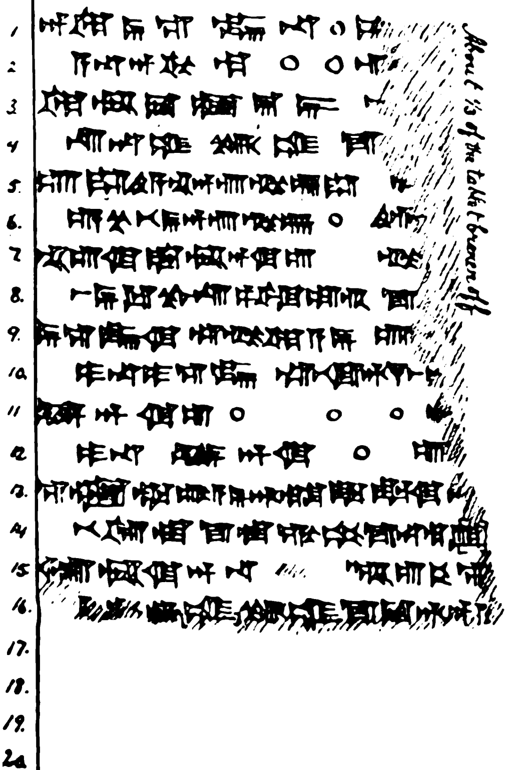

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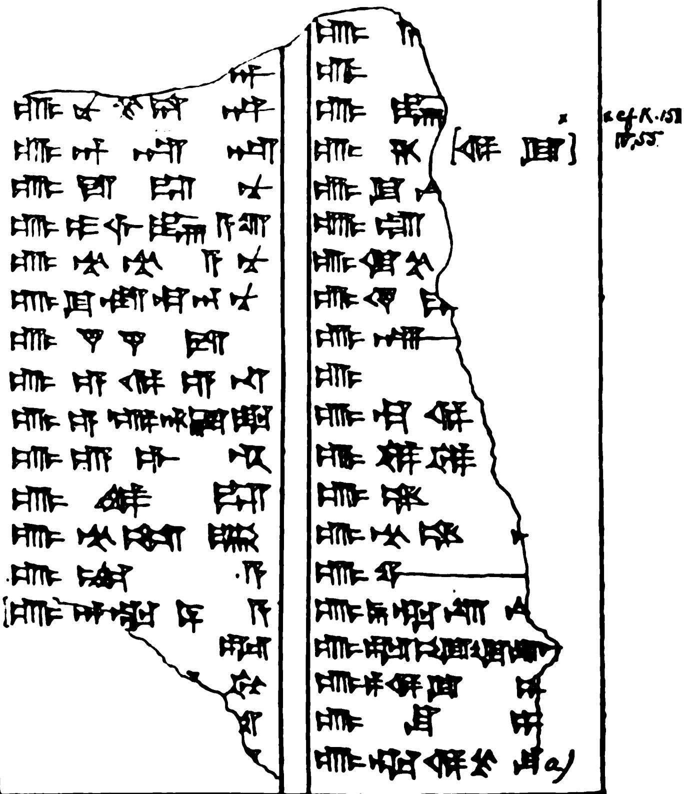

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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOL. XIII. OCTOBER 1896. No. 1.

ZWEI PRONOMINALE ELEMENTE.

VON J. BARTH, PH.D.,

Professor der Semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Berlin.

I.

DAS SYRISCHE IMPERFECT-PRÄFIX *n*.

Gegenüber dem gemeinsemitischen Präfix der dritten Person masc. des Imperfects bietet bekanntlich das Syrische ein *n*. Dasselbe ist im Mandaeischen und im bab. Talmud im Gebrauch; nur geht in diesen beiden letzteren Dialekten auch ein Präfix ל daneben her. Bei einem vereinzelten Verb, הֲוָא, hat auch das westaramaeische Idiom des bibl. Aramaeisch, das kein *n*-Präfix kennt und im übrigen der 3. Person stets ein *j* vorsetzt, zahlreiche Formen לֶהֱוֵא, לֶהֱוֺן, לֶהֶוְיָן, mögen sie indicativischen oder jussivischen Sinn haben.

Es scheint zweckmässig, vor der Prüfung der Frage nach dem Ursprung jenes נ noch den Umfang des Vorkommens des parallelen ל einen Augenblick zu betrachten. Im Mand., wo נ das regelmässige Präfix ist, ist nach Nöldeke's[1] Feststellung das ל

[1] *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 216.

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auf verhältnismässig wenige Fälle beschränkt; einen Unterschied im Gebrauch (derart, dass etwa ל bei jussivischem Imperfect stünde, נ bei indicativischem) hat Nöldeke nicht gefunden. Weniger klar liegt es in der Sprache des bab. Talmud. Bei unbefangenem Lesen habe ich stets den Eindruck gehabt, dass das ל hier in jussivischer Function stehe, und dass es in der *überwältigenden Mehrzahl* der Fälle wirklich hier so gebraucht wird, ist mir auch nicht zweifelhaft.[2] Auch Luzzato[3] hat in den ל-Formen diese Bedeutung gefunden, und Specialisten die ich noch weiter darüber befragt, gaben dasselbe Urtheil ab. Nöldeke[4] will dagegen auch hier diesen Untershied der Functionen zwischen נ und ל nicht gelten lassen; ein Sprüchwort, das er citirt,[5] zeigt thatsächlich das ל in indicativischem Zusammenhang; doch gehört dieses Sprüchwort kaum zu dem engeren Dialekt, in dem die Discussionen des Talmud verfasst sind. Dass zuweilen das נ ebenfalls bei jussivischen Imperfecten auftritt, wie in den von Nöldeke angezogenen Stellen, *Gittin* 69 *a* und *b* ist auch nicht entscheidend, da ja der Indicativ für alle Modi stehen kann; leider ist die Textüberlieferung nicht sicher genug, um auf die verhältnismässig wenigen Stellen ein ganz sicheres Urtheil zu bauen. Thatsache ist, dass in der überwältigenden Mehrheit der Fälle ל hier eine jussivische Impf.-Form einführt; in weit selteneren Fällen tritt es beim Indicativ ein, wo sonst das נ Regel ist.[6] Da indessen im Mand. und in den angeführten Formen des Bibl.-Aram. das ל unterschiedslos neben נ hergeht, so dürfte ein Impf.-Präfix der 3. Pers. sg. Impf. ל neben נ ebenfalls gesichert sein. Wie haben wir uns jenes נ und dieses ל zu erklären?

Von den bisherigen Erklärungsversuchen hat noch keiner durchzudringen vermocht. Die einst von Ewald[7] aufgestellte These, ל und נ seien für das Gesammtsemitische als das ursprüngliche Präfix anzusehen, aus dem erst *j* sich lautlich entwickelt habe, findet heute wohl keinen Vertreter mehr. Merx[8] gieng von

[2] Typisch sind z. B. die vielen Fälle von Verordnungen mit ל *Gittin*, 87 *b* Mitte.

[3] *Idiom des Talm. Babli*, § 72.

[4] *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 217, Anm. 1.

[5] אי חקלאה מלכא להוי דיקולא מצאריה לא נחית "wenn der Bauer König wird, kommt doch der Fruchtkorb nicht von seinem Nacken herunter."

[6] Rosenberg, *Das aram. Verbum im bab. Talmud*, S. 15 und Vorrede hat den Thatbestand unrichtig bestimmt.

[7] *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, S. 504, Anm. 4.

[8] *Gramm. syr.*, pp. 200–1.

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der lange Zeit herrschenden Theorie aus, dass das Impf. יִקְטֹל die ihm ein solches zu enthalten schienen; leider waren dies der ursprünglich sowohl Nomen wie Verbum gewesen sei und zog daher für die Erklärung des נ-Imperfect-Präfixes Nomina heran, Hauptsache nach Eigennamen fremden Ursprungs und solche aus der Niphal-Conjugation, wie נִמְרֹד נֵרְגַל, נַפְתָּלִי, נֶפְתּוֹחַ, oder solche wie syr. ܢܦܘܩܐ, u. dgl. m., von denen wir jetzt wissen, dass ihr *n*-Präfix nach assyrischer Art wegen des nachfolgenden Labials aus *m* dissimilirt ist. Ein *ursprüngliches n*-Präfix beim Nomen hat das Semitische nicht besessen; ohnehin ist auch die Hypothese von der Einheit des Impf.'s יִקְטֹל mit *j*—Substantiven in sich haltlos.[9] Duval (*Gramm. Syr.*, p. 172) hat eine positive Erklärung ebenso wenig gegeben, wie Nöldeke in seiner Mandaeischen und Syrischen Grammatik, der nur hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses von נ und ל sich dahin äussert, sie seien allem Anschein nach nur lautliche Spielformen.[10] Wright[11] scheint (im Anschluss an Lowe) der Ansicht zuzuneigen, dass das נ sich erst aus dem ursprünglicheren ל entwickelt habe; betreffs dieses ל weist er auf das demonstrative Element "in dem Artikel أَلْ, הַל," in الذى, הַלָּזֶה, ذلك, אֵלֶּה u. s. w. hin und fügt hypothetisch dem hinzu: falls das *n* irgend etwas mehr als eine blose Variation des *l* sei, müsse es aus der pronominalen Basis *n* in דִּין, ዝንቱ, הֵן, הִנֵּה, إِنَّ, أَنَّ erklärt werden.

Diese von Wright und Andern vermuthungsweise geäusserte Ansicht, dass das נ vielleicht erst aus dem ל sich herausgebildet habe, hat wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Denn das נ is als Präfix im Syrischen allein herrschend, im Mand. das weitaus gewöhnlichste, ebenso im Talm. in assertorischen Sätzen die Regel; da ist nicht anzunehmen, dass es aus einer Form die im Syrischen gar nicht, im Mand. nur verschwindend schwach vertreten ist, seinen Ursprung herleite. Wir werden vielmehr mit Nöldeke beiden Partikeln ihre selbständige Existenz zuweisen und weiterhin ihrer identischen Function entsprechend eine identische Bedeutung in ihnen suchen müssen. Was diesen

[9] Den näheren Nachweis vgl. in meiner *Nominalbildung*, S. 227-8.
[10] *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 217.
[11] *Lectures on Comparative Grammar*, p. 183 *sq.*

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Punkt betrift, scheint mir Wright am ehesten auf der richtigen Spur gewesen zu sein.

Diese Spur wird durch das Wesen des gemeinsemitischen *j* gewiesen, an dessen Stelle doch unsere beiden Präfixe eingetreten sind. Dessen Bedeutung und sonstige Functionen müssen derartige sein, dass sie auch von נ und ל vertreten werden konnten. Und dies ist thatsächlich der Fall. Das *j* ist, wie ich an anderer Stelle[12] nachzuweisen versucht habe, ein altes demonstratives Element mit bald örtlicher,[13] bald zeitlicher,[14] bald persönlicher[15] Verwendung. Dass das נ, um dieses Präfix vorauszunehmen, geeignet war, stellvertretend für ein solches Demonstrativ einzutreten, erhellt schon von vornherein daraus, dass es im Sabaeischen geradezu der regelmässige Artikel geworden ist. Es ist weiterhin daran deutlich, dass dieses נ bei örtlichen und zeitlichen Partikeln förmlich parallel mit jenem *j* aufritt. Wo das Hebr. für die Frage "wo" *aj-jē* hat, bietet das Arab. *aj-na*, das Hebr., parallel mit jenem, אַיִן. Für den Begriff "jetzt" wird mehrfach der Vertreter von اذا mit einem Demonstrativ verbunden; im Aeth. lautet diese Composition je+'ezê=ይእዜ,[16] im Aram. tritt statt des präfigirten *je* ein suffigertes *n* ein und wir erhalten so אֱדַיִן, zu welchem man auch das lautlich und begrifflich genan entsprechende arab. إِذَنْ إِذًا "dann" stellen muss.[17] Man sieht, dass *je* und *na* gleichbedeutende Demonstrative sind.

Es lässt sich aber weiterhin sogar noch erkennen, wieso dieses demonstrative נ gerade als *männliches* Präfix der 3. Person die-

12 *Etymologische Studien*, S. 59-60.

13 Vgl. das 2. Element in aeth. ሀየ =Mischn. הֵי "da," in ዝየ, hebr. אֵי־הֵה "wo da?"=אַיֵּה.

14 In ይእዜ "jetzt," ዓዲ = *'ād* + *jĕ* "noch" eigtl. "bis jetzt."

15 Zweites Element in arab. *'aj-ju*ⁿ, syr. *hu-jā*, wornach auch aeth. አይ = talm. הֵי "welcher" zu erklären; hinter dem fragenden *aj* muss ein Demonstrativ "der, dieser" folgen, wie im hebr. אֵי זֶה, syr. ܐܰܝܢܳܐ.

16 Es ist nicht sicher auszumachen, ob nicht in dem hebr. אֱזַי dieses demonstrative *je* hinten angefügt ist; wir würden, wenn das *j* zur Partikel selbst gehört, auf Grund von אָז eher אָזַי erwarten.

17 Man nimmt gewöhnlich an, das deutende *n* des Aeth. und Aram. (s. weiterhin), fehle dem Arabischen. Indessen in der obigen Partikel wenigstens liegt es auch hier klar vor: während إِذَا indeterminirt "wann" ist, bedeutet إِذًا اذَنْ dann, in *dieser* Zeit, in *diesem* Falle."

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nen konnte.[18] Bekanntlich wird im Aethiopischen (Sabaeischen) und Aramaeischen das *n* zur Erweiterung des demonstrativen זֶה verwandt; nur vereinzelt im Phoenicischen in der Gebâl-Inschrift. Es scheint aber die Thatsache noch nicht gewürdigt zu sein, dass übereinstimmend in allen Idiomen und Dialekten das *n* der singularischen Demonstrative nur bei den Masculinen erscheint, bei den Femininen aber stets fehlt. In den aramaeischen Dialekten haben wir so bei den Masculinen: זן in der Hadad-Stele, 1:14, und in der Panamû-Inschrift 1[19], זנה in der altaram. Inschrift von Lycien (Limyra)[20] und in der von Taimâ (*CJS.* II. 115, *Z.* 22, wohl auch *Z.* 23), דנה im bibl. Aramaeisch und ständig in den nabataeischen Inschriften, דין und הדין in den Targumim,[21] jerus. Talmud,[21a] דין auch in alten religiösen Urkunden, die den palästinischen Dialekt wiederzugeben pflegen[22] neben דנן mit verdoppeltem נ,[23] das auch in den verschiedensten Targumim erscheint, דן und הדן im Samaritanischen, ܗܳܢ und ܗܳܢܳܐ (aus *hâ*+*den*[*â*]) im Syrischen, האזין, seltener האדין und האינו[24] im Mand. u. s. w.—Daneben wird nun das Feminin durchweg ohne ein נ gebildet. Vgl. זא in der Inschr. von Taimā (*Z.* 13, 15), דָא im bibl. Aram. und auf den nabat. Inschriften, דא und הדא in den Targumim und im paläst. Talmud (wo deneben auch אדא, Dalman, a. a. O.) האזא im Mand., הא (aus הדא verkürzt, das im Tract. Nedarim noch vorkommt) im bab. Talmud, vereinzelt דא (in einer pumbedîthanischen Stelle[24a]).

Mit diesem Gegensatz beider Geschlechter stimmt nun sowohl das Phoenicische in der Inschrift von Gebâl überein, wo das Masc. זן (*CIS.* I. 1, *Z.* 4, 5, 12) mit, das Feminin זא ohne *n* hat (*Z.* 6, 12), als das Aethiop. mit seinem Masc. ዝንቱ, aber Feminin

[18] Wie dies auch für *j* aus dem einen Fall seiner persönlichen Gebrauchs in dem masc. ܗܘܢܐ (vgl. die Verbindung mit *hû*) noch zu entnehmen ist.

[19] Neben den einfachen Formen in ומז, פמז Had. 3, 4. Auf diese unvermehrten Formen kommt es im Folgenden nicht an.

[20] Sachau in *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissensch.*, 1887, S. 1*sqq.*

[21] Onqelos pflegt hebr. זֶה mit דין, הַזֶּה mit הדין zu übersetzen.

[21a] Dalman, *Gramm. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, § 17.

[22] Z. B. in dem officiellen Text des Scheidebriefs, *Mischna Gittin*, 9, 3.

[23] Z. das öftere חתן דנן "dieser Bräutigam" in der officiellen Brautverschreibung (כתובה). Auch im *Midr. Rabbā*, siehe Dalman, a. a. O.

[24] Aus האדין הו, Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 60.

[24a] Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 89.

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ዘቲ, als endlich die sabaeischen Inschriften mit dem Masc. דֽן, aber Fem. דֽת;[25] über all ist das *n* an das *Masculin* gebunden, fehlt aber im Feminin.

Diese durchgehende Uebereinstimmung beweist, dass das demonstrative *n* bei seinem persönlichen Gebrauch schon in ursemitischer Zeit einen ausgesprochen männlichen Charakter angenommen und dauernd bewahrt hat. Es war daher sehr geeignet dafür, als das Ostaramäische das *j* als männliches Impf.-Präfix aus irgend welchen Ursachen abstiess,[26] dasselbe in seiner Function zu ersetzen.

Noch eine weitere Congruenz zwischen dem Gebrauch beim demonstrativen Pronomen und als Präfix ist zu beobachten. Beim Plural des Pron. demonstr. bietet bekanntlich das Aethiop. allein zweierlei Geschlechter und hier hat es das im Singular nur masculine *n* vom Masc. aus auch auf das Feminin übertragen, von እሎንቱ aus auf እላንቱ. Wie hier der Plural weniger empfindlich für diese Art der Geschlechtsscheidung ist, als der Sing., so zeigt sich auch beim Plural des Präfixes in ܢܗܘܘܢ und ܢܗܘܝܢ dieselbe Abgestumpftheit für sie; bekanntlich ist beim *j*-Präfix im Arab. und Aethiop. dasselbe im Plural der Fall; es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass ein solcher ehemaliger Gebrauch des *j* im Aram. auf den des *n* eingewirkt hat.

Es liegt kein Grund vor, dem im Ganzen weniger häufigen ל-Präfix eine andere Art der Entstehung als dem נ zu vindiciren oder eins aus dem anderen abzuleiten. Schon Wright hat mit Recht auf das *l* des arab. Artikels أَلْ, in ذلك und الذى, auch in הַלָּזֶה hingewiesen. Eine specielle geschlechtliche Differenzirung liegt beim ל in diesen Verwendungen nicht vor. Da es im vorliegenden Fall um einen neuen Gebrauch dieses Demonstrativelements im Aram. sich handelt, möchte ich noch darauf hinweisen, dass in der Mišna-Sprache, die ein dem Aram. nahestehendes Hebraeisch bietet, dieses ל mit vorgesetztem Artikel als הַלָּה ein sehr gebräuchliches Wort für "jener" (als Gegensatz zu זה oder zu הוא "dieser") geworden ist, z. B., Miš. Scheb. 6, 7, ... זֶה וְהַלָּה; 7, 1: הוּא . . . . וְהַלָּה und so häufig.

[25] Halévy, *Études Sabéennes*, p. 74.

[26] Duval, p. 172, vermuthet, wegen der Schwierigkeit das *j* mit folgendem *é*-Vocal zu verbinden.

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II.

DER HEBRAEISCHE UND DER ARAMAEISCHE ARTIKEL.

Zu der Frage, welches die ursprüngliche Form des hebraeischen, moabitischen und phoenicischen Artikels הַ gewesen sei, ob er *hal* oder *ha* gelautet habe, von Neuem das Wort zu nehmen, ist keine dankbare Aufgabe. Seitdem es wissenschaftliche hebraeische Grammatiken gibt, werden beide Annahmen vertreten, und gleichwohl hat bis heute keine von beiden Gemeingiltigkeit erlangt. Das Problem ward eine Zeit lang durch das Heranziehen des bei einem Theil der Beduinen gebräuchlichen Artikels *hal*[1] verwirrt, der aber, wie Nöldeke[2] hervorgehoben hat, in Wirklichkeit eine Contraction aus هذا ال ist, wie *ellī* = الذى. Trotzdem dieses Moment ausscheidet und auch rein lautlich die Gleichstellung des arab. ال mit einen vorausgesetzten hebr. הַל schwere Bedenken gegen sich hat,[3] ist doch unter den neueren Forschern, die sich zur Frage geäussert haben, soweit ich sehe, die Gleichsetzung des hebr. הַ mit arab. *al* die weitaus bevorzugte wenn auch häufig mit einiger Reserve geäusserte Auffassung. Nachdem früher namentlich Hupfeld[4] die Identität des hebr. Artikels mit dem "Urdemonstrativ" הָא energisch vertreten hatte, trat Ewald[5] gegen diese "mittelalterliche Meinung" lebhaft in die Schranken, weil der Artikel sonst überall aus einem vollen Demonstrativ sich entwickelt habe.[6] Er nahm ein *hal* als Grundform des hebr.

[1] Wallin, *ZDMG.* VI. 195, 217. Vgl. diesen Artikel z. B. auch bei Landberg in einer Erzählung aus Kerak. *Proverbes et dictions*, 244 oben.

[2] *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 90, Anm. 2, ebenso in Anm. zu Wright, *Lectures on Comparative Grammar*, p. 115.

[3] Nach der Analogie der mit الف الوصل versehenen Nomina im Arabischen ist zu erwarten, dass arabischem ال ein hebr. לְ, nicht הַל entsprechen würde. Nur bei dem aus dem Imperfect zurückgebildeten Imperativ und Infinitiv Niphal hat das Hebr. ein הִ in äusserlicher Nachbildung nach dem Imperfect angenommen; überall sonst entsprechen Formen ohne Hauchlaut; vgl. *ZDMG.*, 48, 7 *sqq.* Wenn dem ابن ein *bin*, dem اسم ein *šim* u. s. w. im Hebr., gegenübersteht, so ist für ال ein *li* zu erwarten, das ja in ذلك und in hebr. הַלָּז als mittleres Element erscheint, und dem weiter das *la* von הַלָּזֶה, mischn. הלה "jener" sehr nahe steht. Das scheint mir die Grundform des arab. Artikels zu sein, wie auch schon Stade, *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 172 *a* angenommen hat.

[4] *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, II., 449. So früher auch Böttcher, sowie Hupfeld; vgl. König, *Lehrgebäude*, I., S. 132.

[5] *Ausf. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, S. 262, Anm. 1.

[6] Indessen ist der sabaeische Artikel *n* keinesfalls ein volleres Demonstrativ als *hā*.

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Artikels an, ebenso Olshausen (§ 100), Nöldeke,[7] Bickell, Land,[8] Böttcher (I., S. 400), König (Lehrgeb. I., S. 133 Mitte), Wright,[9] während Ges.-Kautzsch, 26te Aufl., § 35*l*, ein eigenes Urtheil nicht gibt, vielmehr beide Ansichten ohne Entscheidung neben einander stellt (§ 35, 2 Anm. 1). Von den neueren Grammatikern hat meines Wissens nur Stade[10] *ha* als Grundform des hebr. Artikels angesetzt.

Als wichtigstes Motiv für die Gleichsetzung mit dem arab. اَلّ, die für ihn ausschlaggebend sei, citirt König die von Böttcher ausgesprochene Erwägung, dass sonst das Hebr. dem Arabischen in dieser Bildung stark entrückt würde, "dem es doch in Wortbildung und -beugung näher als dem Aramaeischen stehe." Dieses letztere Urtheil, schon an sich in seiner Allgemeinheit hinkend und sehr fragwürdig, kann am wenigsten eine derartige Einzelfrage entscheiden helfen. Hat doch selbst das Sabaeische einen andern Artikel als das Nordarabische, und stimmen doch sonst keine zwei semitische Hauptsprachen in der Artikelbildung überein; welche Berechtigung läge da vor, von vornherein ein Zusammengehen des Arab. und Hebr. in diesem Punkte zu praejudiciren?

Ich halte *hâ* für die ursprüngliche Artikelform des Hebraeischen.

Ein wichtiges Zeugniss hierfür liegt in der ursemitischen Verbindung der Pronomina זֶה (und seines Feminins), הוּא, הִיא mit dem vorgesetzten demonstrativen *hâ* vor, worin das Arabische (das Schriftarab., wie mehrere moderne Dialekte), das Aram. und das Hebr. übereinstimmen. Es entsprechen einander:

Arab. هٰذَا (Vulg.-syr. *hādā*, *haidā*, Omani *hāḏe*, auch *ḏahā*), aram.[11] הָדֵין (mand. öfter האדין, syr. ܗܳܢܳܐ aus *hādenā*), hebr. הַזֶּה;

Arab. هٰؤُلَاءِ, aram. ܗܳܠܶܝܢ (= *hā-illēn*, mand. האלין) = phoen.[12] האל, hebr. הָאֵלֶּה;

[7] *Mand. Gram.*, S. 89, Anm. 1; weniger entschieden später in *Die semit. Sprachen*, S. 13, wo ihm die Gleichheit des hebr. und arab. Artikels "nicht ganz fest steht."

[8] Vgl. König, a. a. O.

[9] *Lectures on Comparative Grammar*, p. 114. *Arab. Gramm.*, § 345, rem. c.

[10] In *Morgenl. Forschungen*, 193, noch skeptisch, in *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 172 *a* entschieden.

[11] Das dem Aram. (und dem Aethiop.) eigene demonstrative *n* muss natürlich ausser Betracht bleiben.

[12] Nur *CJS.*, I., 93, 12.

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Arab. هاهوذا[12a] (Omāni *hā-uwé*[14]), syr. ܗܘ (Targ. ההוא; mand. האהו), hebr. ההוא;

Arab. *hā-ije* (Omani), syr. ܗܝ, Targ. ההיא u. s. w., hebr. ההיא.[14]

Es ist klar, dass diese Verbindungen ursemitisch sind. Da im Arab. und Aram. ها kein Artikel ist, sondern deutendes Fürwort, so ist demnach das Demonstrativ *zē*, *zā*, *'illē(n)* (*'ulā'*), ebenso das pers. Pronomen *huwa*, *hija* und sein Plural mit dem vorgesetzten Deutewörtchen *hā* "da" verstärkt worden. Wer nunmehr dem vorgesetzten Element ה in dem hebr. הַזֶּה, הַזֹּאת, הָאֵלֶּה, ההוּא, u. s. w. eine andere Deutung geben wollte, wie in jener arabischen und aramäischen Verbindung, nämlich in ihm ein hebr. *hăl* = arab. أَلْ sehen wollte, der käme formell und sachlich in unentrinnbare Schwierigkeiten. Er würde die hebraeischen Formen dann aus dem Zusammenhang der mit ihnen gleichgebildeten arabischen losreissen, weil ה mit nachfolgendem Dageš ein *hal* repraesentiren solle. Allein von dem arab. *l* ist bekanntermassen im Hebr. keine Spur vorhanden, und dass das hebr. ה in einer solchen Form einem الف الوصل entsprechen könnte, ist durch weiter keinen Fall belegbar (s. oben p. 7, No. II., Anm. 3). Und eine solche formal unwahrscheinliche Gleichstellung sollte ausreichen, die obigen hebraeischen Compositionsformen aus dem Zusammenhang mit der ursemitischen Reihe loszureissen? Sachlich wird diese Annahme widerlegt durch die Erwägung, dass wir nach ihr in ההוּא, ההיא u. s. w. eine Verbindung des Artikels (*hal*) mit dem persönlichen Pronomen haben würden. Eine solche Verbindung (die einem etwaigen arabischen أَلْهُوَ, أَلْهِيَ entsprechen würde) ist im Gebiet der gesammten semitischen Sprachen ohne jede Analogie und wäre ungeheuer-

[12a] Im Altarabischen هَاهُوَذَا "da ist er" *Bochâri*, V., 15, 5 v. u., VI., 142, 8 v. u., vocal. Kair. Ausgabe), *Kâmil*, 574, 14. Im Altarab. wird ها in dieser Weise auch anderen persönlichen Pronomina vorgesetzt, z. B. هاأناذا "da bin ich" *Boch.*, VI., 185, 6, ها انتم تعلمون "Ihr da wisst ja," *Kâmil*, 576, 12.

[13] Reinhardt, S. 31.

[14] Schon Hupfeld, a. a. O., hat auf vorstehende Entsprechungen hingewiesen; aber da sich seine Bemerkung inmitten vieler minderwerthigen Aufstellungen befindet, hat sie wenig Beachtung gefunden. Auch mir ist sie, wie ich bemerken darf, erst jetzt bekannt geworden; die obigen Correspondenzen waren für mich, ehe ich von seiner Abhandlung Notiz nahm, längst für die Bestimmung des hebr. Artikels ausschlaggebend gewesen.

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lich. Alles weist auf denselben Schluss hin, dass das erste Element *ha* im Hebraeischen dasselbe wie das *hā* in den übrigen obengenannten ursemitischen Verbindungen ist. Die Schärfung des Consonanten nach dem hebr. *hă* muss also, wie schon oft besprochen, aus dem engen Anschluss dieses Deutewörtchens an das durch es bestimmte Nomen und Pronomen (ähnlich wie in מַה זֶּה, dem Dageš nach וַ *consecutivum*) erklärt werden; die Kürzung des *ā* in *ă* ist die Folge oder Begleiterscheinung dieser Schärfung.

Eine wesentliche Stütze hat diese Auffassung des hebr. Artikels dadurch erhalten, dass in den liḥjânischen oder, wie man sie auch nennt, thamudenischen Inschriften[15] der Artikel gleichfalls ה lautet, und es doch nicht zu glauben ist, dass auch diese Nordaraber הכפר דה oder הבת דה geschrieben und durchweg das ל genau wie das Hebr. assimilirt hätten, wenn dieser Artikel wirklich הל gelautet hätte. Das Zusammentreffen in einer so schwer annehmbaren Assimilation mit der (angeblichen!) gleichen Erscheinung im Hebr. gegenüber dem Schriftarabischen, das in seinem Artikel in Fällen wie die obigen das ל unverändert erhält, wäre sehr wunderbar. Alles erklärt sich aber einfach, wenn der Artikel im Hebr. wie im Liḥjânischen *hâ* war.

Mit dieser Annahme erklärt sich endlich auch, wie ich denke, eine hebraeische Bildung, die eine befriedigende Deutung in den hebr. Grammatiken nicht gefunden hat: das Wörtchen עַתָּה "jetzt" mit stets betonter Endsilbe.[16] Nach der allgemeinen Auffassung soll dies eine Localisform von עֵת sein.[17] Nun ist aber das in solchen Formen verwandte ־ָה bekanntlich unbetont; die einzelnen Ausnahmen, die vorkommen,[18] sind verschwindend

[15] Halévy in *Revue des études juives*, 1884; D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler aus Arabien*, S. 13, u. ö.

[16] Nur in Pausa עָתָּה, was aber für die ursprüngliche Betonung der Contextform ebensowenig besagt, wie die Pausalformen יִקְטֹלוּן ,קָטָלוּ ,קָטָלָה u. A.

[17] Ewald, § 216 ("־ָה der Richtung"); ebenso Olshausen, § 130*c* und 222*b* (beidemale: wahrscheinlich ist auch עַתָּה nur als Localform zu betrachten"); Stade, § 342*b* und § 367 (der auf die Schwierigkeit der Betonung nicht einmal hinweist); Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 90*h*. Philippi, *Stat. Constructus*, p. 127, hat seinen Zweifel durch ein "vielleicht" angedeutet. Richtiger urtheilt, wie ich sehe, Böttcher, I., 401 Anm.

[18] Olshausen, § 130*c*. Sieht man von den Fällen von Eigennamen, wie עִתָּה קָצִין ,מַרְעֲלָה, גִּתָּה חֵפֶר ab, so haben die Masoreten in מִזְרְחָה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ (darnach auch Deut. 4:41 betont) הָאֹהֱלָה אֶל־שָׂרָה das ־ָה betont, wenn es im Gegenton steht, wo also sonst ein Metheg erforderlich gewesen wäre; Pausalformen wie die zwei Fälle צָרָֽתָה und מֹרָֽנָה folgen immer eigenen Regeln.

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gering gegenüber der sonst durchgehenden Unbetontheit der Endung und erklären sich z. Th. aus dem Zwang des Gegentons. Das Wort עַתָּה würde das einzige im ganzen Bereich des Hebraeischen sein, welches *ständig* des ־ָה der Richtung betonte. Was aber noch viel schwerer wiegt, ist der Umstand, dass עֵת mit einer Endung, die die Richtung angäbe, aber ohne den Artikel, niemals seine ständige Bedeutung "jetzt" haben könnte, so wenig als etwa ein arab. وَقْتًا oder زمانًا. Um zu erkennen, wie unentbehrlich der Artikel oder das Demonstrativ für die Gewinnung des Begriffs "jetzt" ist, achte man auf die übereinstimmenden Fälle von اَلْآنَ, ܗܫܳܐ, כְּעֵת (= כְּהָעֵת), اَلْيَوْمَ = הַיּוֹם, talm. האידנא entspr. einem syr.* ܗܳܢ ܙܒܢܳܐ); ein indeterminirtes Nomen mit dieser Bedeutung wäre undenkbar. Es ist also hier dasselbe Element הָ an das Ende des Worts getreten, das in כְּעֵת = כְּהָעֵת Ri. 13, 23 u. s. in der Function des Artikels vorgesetzt ist.[19]

Man hat sich für die Identität von הַ und اَلْ oft auf das hebr. הַלָּזֶה, das = اَلَّذِي sein solle, berufen. Mit Unrecht. Einmal entspricht das letzte Element in beiden einander nicht. Sodann nicht die Bedeutung; das arab. Wort ist Relativum, das hebräische Demonstrativum, wie die Verbindung הָאִישׁ הַלָּזֶה הַהֹלֵךְ Gen. 24:65 klar erweist. Das hebr. Wort ist eine Erweiterung des aus zwei demonstrativen Elementen zusammengesetzten הַלָּה "jener" (Mischna) durch hinzugefügtes זֶה. Als sein Plural ist das mischn. הללו "diese" (= הלה+אלו) anzusehen. Dieses ist eine Composition dreier Demonstrative, wie sie im Semitischen ganz gewöhnlich sind (vgl. arab. ذٰلِكَ, هٰذاكَ, aegypt. *dikhā*, ōmān, *hādāk* und *ḏākhā*, während wir in dem letzten Element ذِي des Arab. den Vertreter des aram. Relativums די haben. Entspricht in den übrigen Fällen das hebr. הַ nicht dem arab. Artikel, so ist auch aus diesen verschiedenartig gebauten Compositionen des Hebr. und des Arab. deren Gleichheit nicht besser zu begründen.

Löst sich demnach der hebr. Artikel als ursprüngliches *hâ* von dem arab. اَلْ los, so gewinnt er dafür die Verbindung mit

[19] Das vereinzelte postpositive Auftreten dieses Determinativs hat in dem im Arabischen gleichfalls isolirten nachgesetzten determirenden *n* von إِذًا seine Analogie, s. oben No. I. Anm., 17.

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dem aramaeischen *â* des Emphaticus. Nicht als ob man ohne Weiteres dieses Letztere als ein angehängtes *hâ* ansehen dürfte;[20] denn in diesem Fall müsste jedes ܬܐ des Emphaticus sing. fem. ein hartes *t* haben, weil es aus *t* + *hâ* contrahirt wäre und Endungen mit aspirirtem ܬ wie in ܡܠܟܘܬܐ und alle gleichgebildeten Formen, in den Nomina auf ܘܬܐ, ܝܬܐ u. s. w. wären kaum erklärlich. So viel zeigen wenigstens diese und die ähnlichen Fälle, dass das Aram. sich keiner Endung *hâ*, sondern nur eines אָ bewusst war. Nun haben wir ein solches als demonstratives Element, wenn auch wesentlich seltener als *hâ*, thatsächlich im Semitischen. Das phoen. אז, welches auf den cyprischen Inschriften neben ז erscheint (*CJS.* 44, 1; 57, 1; 88, 2; 89, 2; 90, 1; 91, 1), zeigt vor dem ז ein Element, welches nach den zahlreichen Analogien, die wir aus dem Semitischen kennen, nur ein Demonstrativ sein kann; in der Bedeutung muss es mit dem *hâ* in هٰذَا, ܗܳܘ, הַזֶּה gleich sein. Auf aramaeischem Boden liegt dies א wohl in der alten Inschrift des Bar-Rekhûb vor, wo in der 2. Zeile מן פחתה אזה הות בבית אבוה zu lesen ist[21]). Es liegt hier zwar ein Relativum vor, dessen zweites Element wegen dieser Bedeutung Schwierigkeit macht; aber das vorgesetzte Element ist gewiss dasselbe Demonstrativ[21a] wie in den obigen cyprischen Formen. Im Modern-Aegyptischen ist das demonstrativ *hâ* noch erhalten.[22] Daneben erscheint aber auch ein *'â* in gleicher Function in *â-dî* "dieser da," *â-hōm* "diese," *â-hō* = altarab. هاهو, *â-hi* = هاهى.[23] Auch in den lihjân. Inschriften will D. H. Müller neben dem gewöhnlichen Artikel ה einen Artikel א namentlich aus dem parallelen אצפחת (67, 2) und הצפחת (58, 2) erschliessen und demnach auch das ואל אעסן (21, 4) mit ואל העסן gleichstellen.[24] Da es immerhin nur zwei Fälle wären, so würde darauf allein ein fester Schluss noch nicht gegründet werden können; zusammen-

[20] So, wie es scheint, Hupfeld, a. a. O. S. 450. Nicht klar Stade, § 172*a*, Anm. 2: "Gleichen Ursprungs mit dem hebr. Artikel ist die Endung des aram. Stat. emph. *â*." Wright, *Comp. Gramm.*, p. 115 nimmt, "*hâ* oder *â*," Duval, *Gramm. Syr.*, p. 249, *hâ* an.

[21] Sachau transscribirt אלה, in dem er das ל ausdrücklich als unsicher bezeichnet. Ich fand bei Besichtigung des Steins selbst אזא und mein Kollege Erman, den ich der Controle halber das Wort zu lesen ersuchte, las ebenfalls אזא. Unabhängig von mir hat auch H. Winckler, *Altorient. Forsch.*, I., 105, so gelesen.

[21a] Vgl. die demonstrativen Vorsätze vor ذى in dem arab. الّذى.

[22] In *dik-hâ* "jener," *duk-hâ* "jene."

[23] S. Spitta, S. 76.

[24] *Epigraph. Denkm.*, a. a. O.

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genommen mit allem Obigen gewinnt es an Bedeutung. Ein solches *'â*, das mit *hâ* parallel gieng, wäre demnach zum Ausdruck des Artikels im Syr. verwandt worden.

Dass dieses das determinirende Element hinten ansetzte, theilt es bekanntlich mit dem Sabaeischen. Einen Fall dieser Art zeigte oben das hebr. עַתָּה. Es muss dabei vor Augen gehalten werden, dass die Nachsetzung des Demonstrativs überhaupt Sache der einzelnen sprachlichen Ausbildung ist. So setzt das Phoenicische sein ז, אז und זן immer hinter das Substantiv; bei vielen Beduinen wird das Demonstrativ immer nachgestellt,[25] ebenso setzt das modern-aegypt. Arabisch das *dā*, *dī* immer nach, desgleichen hat das Neusyrische das Element ܗܐ, das doch schon im Ursemitischen vor *hû*, *hî* getreten und sich im Arab., Hebr. und im Aram. auch dort gehalten hat, stets hinter das Pronomen und die mit ihm zusammengesetzten Adverbien treten lassen (z. B. ܗܘܘܐ, ܗܫܘܐ u. s. w.).[26]

[25] *ZDMG*. VI., 195, Anm. 2.
[26] Vgl. Nöldeke, *neusyr. Gramm.*, S. 76 *sq.*

THE RELIGIOUS STANDPOINT OF THE CHRONICLER.

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Since the time of de Wette it has been the custom of advanced critics of the Old Testament to treat Chronicles as a work beneath the notice of the historian. Thus Stade in his history of Israel gives "die Chronik keine Quelle" as the headline of the pages in which he treats of this book. Wellhausen, again, declares (*Prolegomena*, p. 231) that the existence of pre-exilic traditions in Chronicles is out of the question. Unsupported statements of the chronicler are put down as *Tendenz*-fictions by the modern advanced critic. It becomes all-important, therefore, to enquire into the nature and extent of this *Tendenz*. A statement of the facts will enable us to judge for ourselves whether it goes far enough to invalidate of itself the chronicler's testimony.

1. In the first place we notice in the work of the chronicler a deepened awe (which some may regard, if they will, as superstitious) in speaking of God and of his working in the world. Such an awe may be observed in Samuel and Kings, but it deepens in the language of Chronicles. The chronicler is above all εὐλαβής.

Thus we find in his book a more sparing use of the divine name. We read, for instance, "the ark of God" and "the house of God," where in the earlier histories we should find "the ark of the Lord" and "the house of the Lord."

This εὐλάβεια of the chronicler may be also illustrated from the language which he uses or records of the temple. Many, no doubt, of the careful and guarded expressions applied in Chronicles to the temple to describe it as the house of the Lord are found already in Kings, but the chronicler makes them his own and adds fresh ones to them. Thus we find the language of 1 Kgs. 8:27 recorded again with one small emphasizing variation in 2 Chron. 6:18, "But will God indeed dwell (Chronicles,"+with men") on the earth? Behold the heavens and the heaven of

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heavens contain thee not; how much less this house that I have builded?" On the other hand there is no parallel in Kings for the striking words of Solomon's letter to Huram (2 Chron. 2:6), "Who am I then, that I should build Him an house, save only to burn incense before Him?"

Thus we see clearly expressed in Kings and emphasized in Chronicles the desire to ward off the notion that God dwells in *temples made with hands.* If it should appear later that the temple and the temple service are unduly prominent in the history as the chronicler narrates it, let it be remembered that no one could recognize more plainly than he that the God who sanctified the temple is greater than the temple.

Again, it is most probable that the *εὐλάβεια* of the chronicler supplies the explanation of the difference between the two following passages:

1 Chron. 21:1.	2 Sam. 24:1.
"And Satan (שטן)	"And the anger of the Lord
stood (continued to stand)	burnt again
against Israel	against Israel
and he moved David	and he moved David
	against them, saying,
to number Israel."	Go, number Israel
	and Judah."

2. In estimating the religious standpoint of the chronicler we must also notice the very great importance which attaches in his eyes to the temple and its furniture. These seem to be continually in his thoughts. Thus in 2 Sam. 8:8 we are briefly told that David in his campaign against Hadad- (Hadar-) ezer took much "brass," and in vs. 10, 11 that he "dedicated to the Lord" certain vessels of "brass," silver and gold. The chronicler is much more explicit. At the mention of this brass (1 Chron. 18:8) he adds, "wherewith Solomon made the brazen sea, and the pillars, and the vessels of brass."

Again (1 Chron. 22:1) we are told that David at his sacrifice at Ornan's threshing-floor chose the floor for the site of the temple. There is no similar statement in Samuel or Kings.

But the most striking illustration of the chronicler's estimation of the temple is afforded by the contents of the last few

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chapters of 1 Chronicles. Here we are told that David gathered money, and building materials, and workmen; that he made arrangements for the necessary changes in the organization of the Levites when they should become attached to a building and separated from a moving tabernacle; that he assembled the whole people and invited gifts for the building; that finally he gave Solomon a plan of each part of the temple (1 Chron. 28:11, 12).

Moreover, divine guidance is claimed in Chronicles for the temple plan with which David supplied Solomon. The simplest translation of 1 Chron. 28:12 (see, however, Bertheau) is, "And the pattern of all which *by the Spirit* was with him, even of the courts of the house, etc." There seems to be a slight contrast between the two words in ברוח עמו, and the phrase probably stands for ברוח עם לבבו. The pattern of the parts of the house was present with David's heart (*i. e.*, his mind) by the help of the Spirit.

It is again worthy of notice that the chronicler dwells upon the free-will offerings made by the great men of Israel towards the building of the temple (1 Chron. 29). Of these offerings the writer in Kings says nothing.

Again (2 Chron. 20:8, 9), we have allusions in Jehoshaphat's prayer against the confederates to the building of the temple and to Solomon's prayer at the dedication.

Finally, two peculiarities of language are worthy of attention in this connexion:

(*a*) The name of the shrine of the temple, called in Kings "the oracle" (or possibly "the hinder part," דביר) is called by the chronicler the "Holy of Holies" (קדש הקדשים).

(*b*) The sin of the princes of Judah under Joash is described in the words, "They forsook *the House of* the Lord" (2 Chron. 24:18).

3. We must also notice the chronicler's attitude towards ritual. The temple is not a mere palladium to him; it is the place in which the God of Israel is praised and blessed in psalms, and worshiped with burnt offerings and incense. To turn from the preaching of Isaiah to the narrative of the chronicler seems like passing into a new world.

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"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" asks the prophet in the name of the Lord (Isa. 1:11).

"They offered burnt offerings," writes the chronicler, . . . "even 1000 bullocks, 1000 rams, and 1000 lambs" (1 Chron. 29:21).

"Incense is an abomination unto me," the prophet cries.

"[The sons of Aaron]" says Abijah proudly, "burn unto the Lord every morning and every evening burnt sacrifices and sweet incense" (2 Chron. 13:10, 11).

"Your appointed feasts my soul hateth," the prophet dares to say.

The chronicler writes with a thrill of joy, "There was no passover like to it kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet" (2 Chron. 35:18).

It must be allowed at once that the actual gulf between Isaiah and the chronicler is not so deep as it seems. Isaiah's words must be interpreted in the light thrown by the context, "I cannot away with *iniquity and the solemn meeting* [conjoined]." On the other hand, it must not be assumed that in the view of the chronicler the outward services of the temple covered the whole field of religion. It is he who records David's charge to Solomon to serve the Lord with a perfect heart and *with a willing affection* (בנפש חפצה). Further, it is the chronicler only who records Jehoshaphat's noble charge to his newly appointed judges,* "Ye judge not for man, but for the Lord . . . . take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts" (2 Chron. 19:6, 7).

Again, no man who cared only for the externals of religion could have recorded with approval that many of Ephraim were allowed to eat of the Passover although they were not ceremonially clean, or could have defended the permission on the ground that the king (and not the high priest) had prayed for them (2 Chron. 30:18–20. No parallel in Kings).

4. Moreover, to understand the religious standpoint of the chronicler we must take into account his attitude towards the Northern Kingdom. At first sight it seems to be identical with that of the compiler of Kings. This writer records the words of Shemaiah the man of God *that the disruption was of God* (1 Kgs.

* Wellhausen (*Proleg.*, pp. 198, 199) doubts the *fact* of appointment.

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12:24), and the chronicler repeats the statement (2 Chron. 11:4). Again, the compiler of Kings in his summaries passes an unfavorable judgment on every one of the kings of Israel; they all "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (even Jehu, 2 Kgs. 10:29–31), and in this unfavorable judgment he is wholly in agreement with the chronicler.

Yet there seems to be a real divergence of view as to the *theory* of the Northern Kingdom. The earlier historian sees nothing wrong in it. As the disruption was *of God*, so the continuation of it is not necessarily contrary to his will. Accordingly the author of Kings records the elevation of Jehu as the work of a prophet of the Lord. The chronicler's view is apparently different. The continued schism of Israel is a sin against God. *The kingdom was given to David over Israel, to him and to his sons forever by a covenant of salt* (2 Chron. 13:5. The speech of Abijah). *The Lord is not with Israel, to wit, with all the children of Ephraim* (2 Chron. 25:7. A prophet to Amaziah). The chronicler even shows a tendency to call the Southern Kingdom "Israel," as though that were the true Israel, and as though the ten tribes were wholly cast off by the Lord (2 Chron. 12:6; 21:2–4 and 28:19, 27). "Sie (die zehn Stämme)," to use the words of Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, p. 197), "kommen darum *wie andere Heiden* nur so weit für die heilige Geschichte in Betracht, als sie mit dem eigentlichen Volke Jahve's dem Israel im Lande Juda (2 Chron. 23:2), in freundliche oder feindliche Berührung treten."

5. The chronicler's views as to suffering, punishment, and sin differ little from those of the other Old Testament writers, the writer of the Book of Job excepted. All the prophets teach that sin is followed by temporal suffering as a punishment for sin. Nay, further, the converse may at least generally be said to be the doctrine of the seers, viz., that temporal calamity is to be regarded as a punishment for ill-doing. "Shall evil befall a city," asks Amos (3:6), "and the Lord hath not done it?" Jeremiah (14:1–10) declares that the dearth in Judah is a recompense for iniquity. Malachi (3:9), alluding to a similar calamity, says, "Ye are cursed with a curse; *for ye have robbed me*, even this whole nation."

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In Chronicles this prophetical teaching is emphasized and illustrated. No sermon on the text, "Evil deed hath evil seed," could be more complete than the story of the death of Zechariah (2 Chron. 24:20–25). The prophet rebukes the people for forsaking the Lord, a conspiracy of people and king is made against him, he is stoned, and his dying words are, "The Lord see and require!" A year later a small Syrian army overthrows Judah, and makes a slaughter of the leaders of the people and of the people themselves. Joash himself escapes for the moment, suffering from many wounds, but finally dies through conspiracy. The story of Uzziah (2 Chron. 26:16–20) is equally complete as an illustration of temporal punishment following upon sin. His heart lifts him up, he takes a priestly function upon himself, he stands in the temple wrathful at remonstrance, and leprosy, "the stroke of God," breaks forth in his forehead as he holds the censer in his hand.

The doctrine as held by the chronicler seems to us cruder and harsher, more mechanical and less spiritual, perhaps, than as held by the prophets, and yet the doctrine in whatever form held is a truth which no true historian may neglect. If a writer is sometimes misled by it to pass uncharitable judgments, at others it leads him to coördinate facts, on the coördination of which the truth of the narrative as a whole depends.

In summing up our impressions of the religious standpoint of the chronicler, we are bound to confess that there is no bias discernible which is of itself fatal to his claim to be considered among the authorities for the history of Israel. The circumstance that he records facts which fall in with his own view of cause and effect but are not recorded in the parallel narratives of earlier historians does not prove that he invented the facts, or that he took them from some like-minded author only a little earlier in date than himself. To reject every unsupported statement in Chronicles which agrees with the chronicler's *Tendenz* would be to cherish a *Tendenz* of one's own. A narrative in Chronicles may agree with the chronicler's bias, may even agree with it in more than one of its aspects, it may be unsupported by anything in Samuel or Kings, may even be contradicted by a parallel statement of earlier date, and yet it may contain information too precious to

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lose. For (let the truth be confessed!) the author of Kings also has his *Tendenz*. He tells that the revolt of the ten tribes came of Jehovah; he records the disastrous fall of the prophet who came from Judah to cry against Jeroboam's altar; he almost ignores the history of the Southern Kingdom for two centuries; he exalts the northern prophets Elijah and Elisha; he gives the taunting proverb in which the king of Israel appears as a cedar and the king of Judah as a thistle. In some cases, at least, the *Tendenz* of the author of Kings has to be weighed against the *Tendenz* of the chronicler, and it will seem to some investigators that the truth lies between them.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

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PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention.[1] S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students.[2] This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, *Zur Lautlehre der aramaeisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute*, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, *Das aramaeische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: *Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonish-talmudischen Dialektes*, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

[1] *Cf.* also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," *RÉJ.*, I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, *Aramäische Sprüchwörter und Volkssprüche*, pp. 24-28.

[2] *Elementi grammat. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese*, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

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I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia College, containing the treatises פסחים, זבחים, מועד קטן, מגלה and Alfâsî's compendium of ביצה. These MSS. have some words vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century,[1] and is closely akin to the Mandaic.[2] We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as אֲרָמִית or לְשׁוֹן אֲרָמִי, an appellation used also for other Aramaic dialects.[3]

[1] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.

[2] Noeldeke, *MG.*, xxvi, *sq.*

[3] For other names of Judaeo-Aramaic, *cf.* Dalman, *GJPA.*, 1 *sq.* and p. 340. Jepheth ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic لغة الفارسيّة, which is probably a mistake for لغة الفرّيسيّة the language of the Pharisees. His compiler in the ס' העשר renders it by לְשׁוֹן רַבָּנִים. Vide D. S. Margoliouth's note on p. 7 of his edition of said commentary (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I.). R. Çemaḥ Gāôn in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of *Eldad ha-Dânî*, p. 7, says: אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם לשון תרגום; *cf.* Epstein's note, *ibid*, p. 20. Maimonides in his *Dalâlāt al-ḥâ'irîn* (I., ch. 74) quotes the Talmudic proverb ערבך ערבא צריך as used عند السريان, which is rendered by Falaquera (מורה המורה p. 64) by אצל בעלי התרגום. Dunaš, in his תשובות ed. Schroeter, calls also the Aramaic of the Targumim לשון כשדי, while Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic תרגום. The author of ספר השהם calls Bibl. Aramaic now תרגום (rad. מלא, מלח, סתר), now לשון ארמי (rad. סעד), now לשון סוריאני (rad. כפת, חרך) or ל' סורייני (rad. גזר). An anonymous writer in Arabic calls our dialect נבטית *Nabatean* (*cf.* Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, VI., 69). E. Levita in his preface to his מתורגמן classes the Aramaic of the Bible, of the Targum Onkelos, of pseudo-Jonathan and of the Talmud Babli as לשון בבל as opposed to the לשון ירושלמי of the Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.

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The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemârâ, was committed to writing about 500 A. D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200–500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from *Meghillath Taʿanîth* and from encyclicals of the patriarch R. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinean Aramaic, and are cited in this work under the designation *legal style.* To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim.[1]

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmîd, Meʿîlā, Temûrā, Nedārîm and Nāzîr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes ־כוֹן, ־ֵיכוֹן, ־הוֹן, ־ֵיהוֹן, for ־כוֹ, ־ֵיכוֹ, ־הוֹ, ־ֵיהוֹ; by the demonstratives הָדֵין, הָדָא, הָלֵין and the personal pronouns אַנְתְּ and אִנּוּן; by the forms מִדַּעַם, אִנְתְּתָא, דִּילִי, for the usual מִידֵי, אִתְּתָא, דִּידִי; by the more frequent use of יָת and such expressions as תִּיבָּעֵי for תֵּיקוּ *the question remains undecided,* אֵינָשֵׁי or אֵינָשֵׁי אַיְירִי בְּהוֹן for מַאן דְּכַר שְׁמֵיהּ *who spoke of it?!* יָאוּת *well,* יָאלֵי or וְיָאלֵי *proper.* I am also under the

[1] For editions of the Talmud *cf.* Rabbinovicz, מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד in Vol. VIII. of his *Variae Lectiones.* Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispensable to a proper understanding of Talmudical discussions.

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impression that the nota dativi נִיהֲלָא, so common in other treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzîr.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim.* Leipzig, 1869.

The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–1889; by A. Kohut in his *Aruch Completum*, Vols. I.–VIII., Vienna, 1878–1892, *Supplement to Aruch Completum*, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1886, *sq.* (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabbinovicz's great, though unfinished work, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, Vols. I.–XV., Munich, 1867–1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking—the completion of the work begun by the late Rabbinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers—will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman[1] and Professor H. L. Strack.[2]

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words

[1] "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in *Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).

[2] The treatises of the Mišnā: *Yômâ*, *'Abôdâ*, *Zârâ*, *'Abôth*, and *Sabbath* (Schriften des Inst. Jud. in Berlin)

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borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people.[1] Its orthography is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later Midrāšîm[2] and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. 750–1138). To this class belong the שְׁאִלְתּוֹת of 'Aḥai of Šabḥa, ed. princ. Venice, 1546; הֲלָכוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת of Simon Qiyyâra, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888–1892;[3] אִגֶּרֶת ר׳ שְׁרִירָא גָּאוֹן latest edition by A. Neubauer in *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, *Semitic Series*, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic תְּשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוֹנִים, for the literature of which *cf.* Z. Frankel, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen*, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller, מַפְתֵּחַ לִתְשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוֹנִים, Berlin, 1891.

The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final *nûn* in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

I. SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

SCRIPT.

Letters.[4]—§ 1. The alphabet used in the Talmud, the number of letters, and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew.

[1] Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (*cf.* *Proc. of PEF.*, 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

[2] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[3] This work contains older elements.

[4] For the names of the letters *cf.* Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. f. Bibel u. Talmud, Supplem.*, article "Grammatik." Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of letters: Alleph, Gimmel, Dalled, Ḥĕth, Ṭĕth, Yûd, Kâph, Lammed, Sammekh, Çaddîq (Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, 22), Qûph. *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 26 זָן for זַיִן, § 49 has לָבָד for לָמֶד (*cf.* Samaritan Labad, Petermann, *Gram. sam.*, p. 2, written לבאת, Munk, *TM.* 10); Col. MS. (Meg. end) voc. גִּימֶל; *HG.* has רָא for רָאֵר. The forms of the names of the letters in post-Gaonic literature I shall give in my *Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic*, now in preparation.

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Vowels.—§ 2. No vowel-signs are used in the Talmud. Traditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel-sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible. סֶגּוֹל is rare, the preference being given to צֵרִי or חִירֶק.

Numerals.—§ 3. The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals. א–ט are used for units; י–צ, for tens; ק–ת, for 100–400. Compound numbers are expressed by composition, the larger numeral being placed on the right: יב 12, לד 34, קכג 123. Numbers higher than 499 are expressed: 500 by תק; 600, תר; 700, תש; 800, תת; 900, תתק, etc.[1] When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of abbreviation (§ 6): כ״ח, 28; ג׳, 3; קל״ה, 135.[2] When used for pagination, the sign of abbreviation is omitted.

Reading of Numerals.—§ 4. When the number consists of one or of two letters, the names of the letters are read. Thus, ג׳ is not read תְּלָתָא or תְּלָת, which it represents, but גִּימֶל; so ר״ה, ש״ב are read רֵישׁ הֵא, שִׁין בֵּית. Numbers containing more than two signs are read either as above, or are vocalized; *e. g.*, תְּקַ״ל, 900; תַּרְ״יַג, 613; רְמַ״ח, 248.

Diacritical Signs.—§ 5. דָּגֵשׁ and שְׁבָא[3] like the vowel signs do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point (:).[4] The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.

§ 6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line.[5] Thus, ר׳, גמ׳, for רַבִּי or רַב, גְּמָרָא. If two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is written in the middle. Thus, ת״ר, מ״ש, קמ״ל, for תָּנוּ רַבָּנָן, מַאי שְׁנָא, קָא מַשְׁמַע לָן. The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§ 3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet. Thus דל״ת, גימ״ל, בי״ת, אל״ף *'Aleph*, *Beth*, *Gimel*, *Daleth*, to distinguish them from אֶלֶף *thousand*, בַּיִת *house*, etc.

[1] In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them. Thus א̇, 1000; ב̇, 2000; ה̇, 5000. Numbers from 500–900 are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ך–ץ. In writing, the final letters are always written on the left: גץ = 903.

[2] In MSS. we find sometimes other signs used. Thus תרי״ג may be written תַּרְיַג or תּ̂ר̂י̂ג̂.

[3] For the etymology of the term *cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, xvi, 28–37, and AM. JOURN. OF SEM. LANG. AND LIT., XIII., pp. 79–80.

[4] In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.

[5] In MSS. we find frequently instead of the *stroke* a *dot* on the last letter.

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ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—§ 7. The vowels *ō*, *ô*, *ŏ*, *û* and *ŭ* are invariably indicated by ו: אֶקְטוֹל *I shall kill;* מוֹתָא *death;* אוּחְרִי *another* (f.); אֲמַרוּ *they said;* גּוּבְרָא *man.* The mater lectionis ו is sometimes omitted in verbs with consonantal ו as second stem-consonant: לְאַשְׁוֹיֵי *to make even.*

§ 8. The vowels *ē*, *ê*, *ĕ*, *ī*, *î* and *ĭ* are usually indicated by the mater lectionis י:[1] תַּעֲבֵיד *thou wilt do;* בֵּיתָא *house;* אֶיסַּק *I shall go up;* אָמְרִין *they say;* מִית *died;* אִין *if;* אִיזִיל or זִיל *go thou.* But the י is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּם *pays;* מְפָרֵשׁ *explains;* מְתָרֵץ *answers.*[2]

§ 9. The vowel *ā* or *â*, when final, is marked by א; less frequently by ה. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal *ā* or *â* is seldom indicated by א, never by ה. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: מַלְכְּתָא *queen;* שַׁבָּא *Sabbath, week;* בִּישָׁא *evil, bad;* שְׁכִיבָא *is about to die;* בַּשִּׁילָה *she cooked;* מָצְיָא *she is able;* אָמְרָה *she says;* חָאזֵי *is fit;* אִיצְיָיאתָה *rows;* מָלְיָאן *are full.* The adjective ending *â'â* is always spelled ־ָאָה.

§ 10. פַּתַּח is generally not indicated. Exceptions are מַן = מאן *who*, in order to distinguish it from מִן *from;* and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal ו as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the *a*-vowel: לִישְׁוַואר *let him jump;* מְדַוֵּאר *goes about.*

§ 11. The diphthongs *āi* and *ăi*, when final, are generally indicated by אי, seldom by יי; when inter-consonantal, by יי, rarely by אי: חֲדָאי נַפְשַׁאי *rejoice my soul;* בָּתְרַיְיתָא *last* (f.); קָאֵימָא *stands.*

§ 12. Final *au* occurs only in לַאו *not*, a contraction of לָא+הוּא; inter-consonantal *au* is indicated by וו: הַוְשָׁא *treading;* הַוְקָא *exactness;* שַׁוְכָא *thorn* (§ 80).

§ 13. Vocal *ševâ* is frequently denoted by י, *e. g.*, עֱיבֵיד *do,* אִינָשׁ *man,* שִׁיהִי *tarrying,* פִּיהִי *running about.* This is espe-

[1] א to mark צרי is found only in יְהֵא *he will be,* תְּהֵא *she will be,* which belong to Mišnic Hebrew.

[2] *Cf.* also Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. זֵירֵת.

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cially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of ע״ו and other verbs, and was probably pronounced as a full vowel.[1] According to Dalman,[2] the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of ע״ו verbs with *i* followed by *dāghēš* of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by *ē*, by analogy with ע״ע verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms qᵉṭāl, qᵉṭūl to pass into qiṭṭāl, qiṭṭūl, is also elsewhere to be observed (*cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 196).... Mere lengthening of *ševâ* to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (*cf.* Safir, *'Eben Sappîr*, I. 55 *a*)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find *i*, *ĕ*, or *ă* for vocal *ševâ*, the latter having no special sign at all.[3] It seems, therefore, that the development of *ševâ* in Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.

II. PHONOLOGY.

A. CONSONANTS.[4]

General Remarks.—§ 14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects ד represents both original د and ذ; *e. g.*, د: דּוּבְשָׁא *honey*, דַּיָּנָא *judge:* ذ: דֵּין *this*, דִּקְנָא *beard.*—ח represents both ح and خ; *e. g.*, ح: חַכִּים *wise*, חֶלְמָא *dream*, חֲמָרָא *ass;* خ: אַחֲרִינָא *another*, חתם *to sign;* חתר[5] *to break in.*—ט represents ط and ظ; *e. g.*, ط: טַעֲמָא *taste, reason*, טמא *to be unclean;* ظ: טוּפְרָא *nail*, טוּנָא *load*, טוּרָא *mountain.*[6]—ע represents ع, غ, and ض; *e. g.*, ع: עִזְקָא *ring*, עָלְמָא *world*, עַשְׂרָא *ten;* غ: עוּרְבָא *raven*, עֵיבָא *cloud*, עלל *to enter*,

[1] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.* XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). *Cf.* also Sal. Geiger, *Zion*, II. 6: *Heḥâlûç*, II. 153; A. Geiger, *Nachgel. Schriften*, V., Hebr. part, p. 7 *sq.*

[2] *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 70, 3.

[3] *Cf.* Friedlander, *PSBA.*, XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

[4] *Cf.* Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 34, 757 *sq.*; *BA.*, I., 249 *sq.*; Dalman, *GJPA.*, 41 *sq.*

[5] This word is connected with Arab. خَرَّ. Its ת is infixed as that in √עתד or √שתן.

[6] This is the Arab. ظَهْر *back*, Assyr. ṣîru *high*. *Cf.* Arab. ظَهْرُ ٱلْجَبَلِ *the top of the mountain* and the use of Arab. عَلَمٌ, Heb. גִּבְעָה *hill*, the latter connected with גַּב *back*. For a similar change from Arab. ע״ה to Aram. ע״ן *cf.* Arab. قهز and Talm. קִזְאָ. Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, 42.

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go in; ض : בֵּיעָה *egg,* ערע or ארע *to happen, befall,* מַרְעָא *disease.* —שׂ has been retained in אֲרִישְׂתָּא (also אֲרִיסְתָּא) *a certain meal,* בִּשְׂרָא *meat, flesh,* עשׂי *to compel,* עֲשַׂר *ten,* עַשְׂרִין *twenty* (but סַר, סְרֵי, in compound numbers), שׂבע *to be satiated,* שׂטְנָא *Satan,* שׂנְאוּתָא *hatred* (but סני *to hate*), שׂפָא *lip,* שׂפָּמָא *mustache,* שׂרַק *to burn, swallow, gulp down,* and perhaps שׂיכְלֵי a certain bird; but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as ס.—ת represents ت and ث; *e. g.*, ت : פתח *to open,* מות *to die,* שׁתי *to drink;* ث : תּוֹר *ox,* תּוּב *to return,* תקל *to weigh.* In the few cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.—§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronunciation of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words.[1]

Gutturals.—§ 16. The Arabs transcribed ה by ه, ח by خ or ح, and ע by ع. The pronunciation of ח was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant خ. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.

§ 17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 *b*, M. Q. 16 *b*, Ker. 8 *a*), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling.[2] Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in זהר *to be cautious,*[3] הֲדָדֵי *one another, together,* הֲרֵזַק *to imprison,* הדר *to return,* מְהוּלְתָּא *sieve,* נהל *to sift,* הוּצָא *shrubbery,* and in other words we have ה for etymological ח.[4] In אוּשְׁלָא *pounded grain,* אִשְׁתָּא name of a canal, אִיפּוּשָׁא a kind of fish, we have א for ה. In תלע or תלה *to crack,*

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, *Introduction.*

[2] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, 58.

[3] This word has nothing to do with זהר *to shine*, but is the Arab. حَرِزَ. For similar metathesis, *cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 3, 4 (חרש and מגן).

[4] *Cf.* also Harkavy's note, p. 356, of his edition of the *TG.*

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we have ה as well as ע for it. In צוח to dry up, we have ח for א. For ה we have א or ע in אָדָא, עָדָא *this*, אפך *to turn;* while for ע we have very frequently א: אָבָא (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *b*, עָבָא alongside of אָבָא) *thicket*, אוֹפֵי *twigs*, אוּרְבָּנָא *bulrushes*, a. fr. *Cf.* Noeldeke, *loc. cit.;* also Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, p. 69.[1]

The fact that post-vocalic ע is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus טַעֲמָא is pronounced ṭáįmo. This points to an earlier טֵימָא just as in Assyrian.[2]

Palatals.—§ 18. Initial י seems to have been sometimes pronounced א to judge from a few cases where א is actually written and from the fact that after the precative ל the prefix י of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an *a*-vowel, is frequently dropped. Thus, אבְשׁוּנָא *dried ears of corn*, אוּבְלָא *willow-basket*, דְּאִיתְיַילְדָן *that will be born*, Ned. 30 *b*, דְּאִינְקוּט *that they gather*, B. Q. 113 *b;* א for י is also written in a few forms of the verb יתב *to sit*, לַשְׁבַּע *let him cause to swear*, לַחֲלִיף *let him pass*. On the other hand, we find at times the י marked as consonantal by doubling it.

§ 19. ג and כ like ב, ד, פ and ת had a double pronunciation as mutae and as spirants. ג is transcribed by the Arabs generally as ج, sometimes as ق; ג̄ is generally غ, sometimes by ج or ك; כ is ك, כ̄ is خ. So we find also in the Talmud כִּיכְלֵי and קִיכְלֵי *partridges*, כרכש and קרקש *to knock*, כַּרְכַּשְׁתָּא and קַרְקַשְׁתָּא *shepherd's bell*, קַרְקַפְתָּא = כַּרְכַּפְתָּא *head*, from כפף *to bend, nod*, properly *noddle; cf.* Hebr. קָדְקֹד √קדד; שרג and שרק *to jump*, written promiscuously. ג̄ is today not distinguished from ב.

Linguals.—§ 20. ד is rendered in Arabic by د, ד̄ by ذ; ת by ت, ת̄ by ث. In traditional pronunciation ד̄ is pronounced

[1] A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phenician (Schroeder, *Phönix. Spr.*, 79 *sq.*), Samaritan (Uhlemann, *Inst. lingu. Samar.*, I., 13 *sq.*), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, *NSG.*, 56 *sq.*), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 44).

[2] In the same way Hebrew words like מַעֲלָה, מַאֲמָר, מַעֲרִיב, מַעֲמָד, מַאֲכָל, and the like are pronounced máįlo, máįmor, máįriv, máįmod, máįchol. But מַעֲרָכָה märócho. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, maįmórim, maįchólim, maįmódôs.

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like ד and ת like ס. ט is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from ת. The ר was evidently a lingual, as it could be doubled.[1]

Sibilants.—§ 21. ז is ز; ס and שׂ are س; צ is ص, and שׁ, ش, rarely س. In the Talmud שׂ is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus, פּתָיָא and פּסָיָא *street-well* (V. L., B. B. 8 *a*); אתקוּטְלָא, אסקוּטְלָא *flipping;* אִיצְיָיאתָה, אִיתְיָיתָא *rows*, F. MS., B. B. 12 *a;* אוּדְיָא, אוּסְיָא a certain quarter of meat; אסְוָא, אצְוָא *creeper, vine;* זאזָא, סאסָא *ear of corn;* צַיֵּיר, סַיֵּיר *binds*, M. MS., AZ., 28 *b;* עֲסִיסָא, עֲצִיצָא *pot;* עקס for עקץ *to sting;* אֲרִיסְתָא and אֲרִישׁוּתָא a certain meal; עַסְרִין and עַשְׂרִין *twenty;* רפשׂ and רפס *to tread.*

Labials.—§ 22. בּ is rendered in Arabic transcription by ب; ב by ب, sometimes by و. ו and מ are rendered by و and م; פ by ف, sometimes by ب. With the exception of two or three words where וו is written for etymological ב, the Talmud retains ב. But ב and וו are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and פ are sometimes written indiscriminately. כּוּפְשָׁנֵי and כּוּבְשָׁנֵי a species of tamed doves, כְּבוּיֵי and כְּפוּיֵי *excrements*, צִלְבְּתָא, צִלוֹפְתָא *eel.*

Dāghēš and Rāphé.—§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדכפת as tenues, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:

a) Unlike the Syriac, בגדכפת has no dāghēš after a diphthong; *e. g.*, בֵּיתָא, אַיְבוּ.

b) The ת in the feminine ending ־תָא is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be preceded by a long vowel; *e. g.*, שְׁאֵלְתָא.

c) בגדכפת are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronunciation; *e. g.*, שׁוּתָּפָא, שְׁתִּיקוּתָא, אכְּחִישׁוּ, סְתָמָא, מִסְתָּמָא, for שׁוּתְפָא, שְׁתִיקוּתָא, אכְחִישׁוּ, סְתָמָא, מִסְתָמָא.

d) פ is pronounced hard in the proper names פָּפָּא *Papa* and פָּפֵּי *Papi.*

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.—*Gutturals.*—§ 24. א changes to י in the active participle Qal of ע״י verbs and of verbs following

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 86, and אִירְצֵי, *HG.*, 282.

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their analogy. Also in the Pa‶ēl and Ithpa‶al of verbs ע״א. Thus, קָיֵים *stands*, צָיֵית *listens*, מָיֵית *dies*, צָיֵיר *binds*, כָּיֵיק *compels*, חָיֵישׁ *feels pain*, עָיֵיל *enters*, שָׁיֵיל *asks*, שַׁיֵּיר *he left, omitted*, אִשְׁתַּיַּיר *remained*. The forms צָאֵית, קָאֵים, etc., are only graphical variants. The א must have also been pronounced י in אֲאָרָא *interstice*, and אָאִין *Alephs*. Notice also שִׁיּוּרָא *remainder*. Verbs ל״א have passed entirely into verbs ל״י.

§ 25. ה changes to ו or י in נוּלָא, נִילָא *he, she*, lit. *this one* (§ 177), קְוָא *to be blunt*, תְּוַהּ *to be astonished*. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תוה may also stand for תמה. זִיאָרָא *rich landlord*, √זהר.[1]

§ 26. ח appears frequently as ה: הוּצָא *foliage of a palm*, Arab. حوص; הֵיגָא *thorn*, Syr. ܚܶܓܳܐ; הוּנָא a proper name = חוּנָא; הֲדַר *to return*, Hebr. חָזַר; *cf.* §§ 16, 17. Sometimes it interchanges with a sibilant: הֲלִיקוּסְתָּא, סְלִיקוּסְתָּא.[2]

§ 27. ע regularly changes to א when there is another ע (= ض) in the same word: אֲרַע = عرض *to happen;* אַפְּעָא = אֲפְעָא = Arab. ضبع *hyena*. *Cf.* also § 17. In גחך *to laugh*, we have ג for ע. Whenever ע corresponds to Arab. ض it must have been originally = غ. This would explain more easily its interchange with ג and ק.[3] Verbs ל״ע have in a few instances passed into verbs ל״י.

Palatals.—§ 28. ג interchanges with ק (§ 18), with כ: גְּשָׁבָּא, כְּשָׁמָּא *door-step; cf.* § 51. In זוּזָא *couple*, the ג becomes ז, as in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to ד in שגר, שדר *to send*. But the latter is more probably = صَدَر. In אַבֵּי for גַּבֵּי (§ 174) we have the change of ג to א.

§ 29. כ and ק frequently interchange: כַּרְשִׁינֵי, קַרְשִׁינֵי *vetch;* כְּרוֹפַיָּתָא, קְרוֹפַיָּתָא *dealers in vegetables;* כְּרוֹשַׁיָּתָא, קְרוֹשַׁיָּתָא

[1] *Cf.* Syriac ܗܘܒܐ = ܗܘܒܗ and Palestinean אירבת = אהבת, Dalman, 69.

[2] *Cf.* Syriac ܫܠܡܠܡܐ = ܚܠܡܠܡܐ, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, add. ad p. 112. Hebrew חֲבַצֶּלֶת may stand for שבצלת, but with regard to its Assyrian equivalent, ח may be original. *Cf.* prothetic ח in Syr. ܚܡܩܡܩܐ.

[3] For this change *cf.* Bibl. Aramaic אַרְקָא *earth;* in some dialects, *cf.* D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 66; Munk, *TM.*, p. 44, n. 127. Ethiopic šaqôqaụa, *to cry, lament*, is a Šaph'ēl of *qôqaụa = ضوضى. One is tempted to compare also Judeo-German "koiken" *to howl*, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. *Cf.* also ברבק, *HG.*, ed. princ. = בצבץ *cast bubbles*. Similar is the interchange of ר and ק: Hebr. שָׁקֵד, Syr. ܫܓܕܐ *almond*. *Cf.* § 36.

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balls, cakes. The interchange with ב frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.

§ 30. Intervocalic י changes to א in the adjective ending ־ָאָה. Thus, בַּתְרָאָה *the last*, קַמָּאָה *the first*, לוּבָאָה *the Libyan*, for *בַּתְרָיָא, *קַמָּיָא, *לוּבָיָא.[1] In verbs: אִיתַּסִּיאַת *she was healed*, Keth., 62 *b;* אִשְׁתַּנִּיאוּ *were changed*, Col. MS., MQ., 25 *b*. But generally intervocalic י is elided.

Dentals.—§ 31. ד usually corresponds to Arab. د and ذ; but occasionally ז appears, even when it corresponds to د. Thus, דְּ, זִי *then, now* (§ 182), זבח *to slaughter*[2]; דִּיאָנָא, זִיָּנָא *loss;* מַדְּלָא, מַזְּלָא *dripping;* דִּיכְּיָא, זִיכְּיָא *twigs;* זַרְדְּתָא, זַרְזְתָא *sorb-plantation;* טַרְדִּינָא, טַרְזִינָא *wardrobe;* זִבּוּרָא *bee*, Hebr. דְּבוֹרָה[3]; אַדִּילָא for אוּזִילָא *young gazelle*. In דָּא דָא (§ 185) it corresponds to Arab. ضَغْ ضَغْ.

In the following examples we have not an interchange of ל and ד, but a rare syntactical use of ד, which can be paralleled in Assyrian: לָאו דְּמֵימְרָא *does it not mean to say*, Col. MS., Zeb. 50 *a;* וְתוֹרֵי דִּרְדְיָא וְתַמְרֵי דְּעִיסְקָא *and oxen for ploughing and dates for trade*, Sabb. 19 *b*.[4] In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לָאו.[5]

§ 32. ט usually corresponds to Arab. ط and ظ, but occasionally it interchanges with צ; thus, מְצֵי and מְטֵי. In טלע it corresponds to 'Omanee Arabic ضلع *to limp*.[6]

§ 33. ת sometimes interchanges with ד: בַּגְדְּתָאָה *the Bagdadian;* קַרְדּוֹיֵי, קַרְתּוֹיֵי; לִיפְּדָא, לִיפְּתָא *turnip*. *Cf.* also § 21.

[1] *Cf.* Jaeger, *BA*., I., 489, 459.

[2] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG*., 43; D. H. Müller, *Inschr. von Sendschirli*, 40 *sq*., 65.

[3] *Cf.* also Arab. زُنْبُور alongside of دَبُّور.

[4] *Cf.* the variant in the פתשגן to Onkelos, Lev. 15:33 וְלִלְדְאִיב for וְלִדְדָאִיב, and in later literature: כַּלְהָדֵי = כַּדְהָדֵי *HG*. 29; לְרַ' = דְּרַבִּינָא *ibid*. 108; לִי = דִּינּוּקָא *ibid*. 373.

[5] The stock example for the interchange of ל and ד has always been אֲזַל = אֲזַד. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, אַזְדָּא and אֲזַדִּי, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase אזדא לטעמיה, and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root אֲזַד is a mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a similar kind. Suffice it to point to פַּעְנֵחַ *to disclose*, קְנָצֵי *end*, and מְגִנַּת לֵב *grief*. A full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.

[6] *Cf.* בֵּיטָא *egg* in Jer. Šebu., III. 34 *d;* but this may also be equal to בֵּיעֲתָא with change of ת to ט.

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Liquids.—§ 34. ל interchanges with נ in the precative particle of the imperfect: נֶהֱוֵי *let him be*, for לֶהֱוֵי; מַדְּוִין *sufficient for irrigation*, H. MS., B. B. 8 *a*, for מַדְּוִיל.[1] לוּמָּא, Latin nummus, *coin*. *Cf.* also § 36.—עַלְקָא *leech* appears also as עַרְקָא.

§ 35. נ changes to ר in רִישְׁבָּא *fowler*. Compare also טְמַר *to hide* with Hebr. טָמַן. A similar change would be in בַּר *son*, בְּרַת *daughter*, if they are identical with בֵּן, בַּת; but this is doubtful. Final ן changes to ם in מְנַשְׁתִּים *he makes water*, O. MS., Sabb. 134 *a*.

§ 36. ר appears frequently as ד. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of ר to ד is attested in living speech,[2] such a change may in some cases be phonetic. The physiological kinship between ר and ד seems to be the same as between ע (=غ) and ض.

ר changes to ל in תַּלְתֵּי *two*, תְּלֵיסַר *twelve* (§ 136).

§ 37. ז. On interchange with ד *cf.* § 31. ז stands for Arab. ض in בְּזַע *to split*[3]; זַגְתָּא *clucking hen* (connected with ضَجَّ *to make noise, croak*); אֲזָא *to heat* is perhaps Arab. حضا; גוז, Arab. جاز *to pass through, cross*, is evidently connected with جَاضَ ، جَفَّضَ ، كَضْكَضَ.[4]

§ 38. ס stands for ص in סַבַּר *to wait, hope for*. On the other hand סוֹבַר *to cup* corresponds to Arab. سَبَرَ *to examine a*

[1] For the same phenomenon *cf.* *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 55. *Cf.* also Syriac ܢܬܠ and Hebrew-Aram. נתן *to give*.

[2] Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, § 121. For Ethiopic *cf.* Prätorius in *BA.*, I., p. 45.

[3] From an original بضع all the forms with ז, צ, ק and ד as second stem-consonant, which appear in the various Semitic languages, can be derived.

[4] *Cf.* also Hebrew גזם (?) *locust* with جُضُم *glutton*; Mišnic זְבוּרִית *receptacle* with ضَبَرَ; זְבוּרִית *bad soil* with ضِبْن; زُبُر *books, Psalms*, with أَضْبَارَة, pl. ضِبَار. Through the intermediate form ذِبْر we get the form דִּבִיר *book*, mentioned in the Talmud as used among Persian Jews. *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 248; Barth, E. S., 26, 32. The development of meaning from ضَبَرَ *to put in order*, ضَبَّرَ *collect*, to أَضْبَارَة *book* is similar to that in كِتَاب *book* from كَتَبَ *to sew together*. *Cf.* later Hebrew אֶגְרוֹן *book, composition*, and אָגַר *to compose, write a book* (vide Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke d. Saadjah Gaon*, p. קר״ח *sq.*). There seems, therefore, to be no ground for doubting the Arabic origin of كِتَاب as Fraenkel does (*op. cit.*, 249).

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wound. The latter is connected with ثَبَرَ *to break open* (said of an ulcer).[1] For its interchange with other sibilants *cf.* § 21.

§ 39. צ interchanges with other sibilants (§ 21), with ט (§ 32). It stands for Arab. ض in צְרַךְ *to be in need,* בצר *to be few,* עמץ *to press together,*[2] צְוַיץ *to cry, shout* = ضَوْضَى, בַּצְבֵּץ *to cast bubbles.*

§ 40. שׁ interchanges with ת in שקל, תקל, *to weigh, be worth.* With ס in משי, מסי *to wash.*

Labials.—§ 41. ב. On interchange of ב with ו and פ *cf.* § 22. In מֵישָׁן for בֵּישָׁן *Bēth Šᵉʾān* we have מ for ב. עֻרְקוּמָא = Hebr. עָרְקוּב, Arab. عرقوب.

§ 42. מ. Assyrian מ appears sometimes as ב, sometimes as ו: עִלָּוֵי *upon,* אוּרְיָא *west,*[3] שׁוּרְבִּינָא *cypress.*[4] מ changes to נ in נַהֲדַר inf. Aphʿēl of הדר *to return,* B. Q. 81 *b,* and in נְשׁוּתְרוֹפֵי *melting,* Sabb. 110 *b;* in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for נ in בּוּטְמָא *terebinth.*

§ 43. ו. Initial ו has been retained only in the following words: וָו *Wau,* וַי *woe! alas!* וָאלֵי *proper* (alongside of יָאלֵי), וַרְדָא *rose* and its derivatives, וַעֲדָא *meeting,* וְתִיקָא *tart,* and in a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to י.

DOUBLING.

§ 44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:

a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; *e. g.*, in the Intensive stems.

b) To show a double consonant; *e. g.*, גַּבֵּי, אִמָּא.

[1] סוֹבַר (Targ.) *to bear, carry,* is closely connected with the idea of endurance, hope. The same connection we find in סבל (Targ.) *to carry, suffer, endure.* Arab. زبل, Assyr. sabâlu (Barth, *ES.*, 50). Interesting variants to סובר we find in the Targ. to Psalm 96, 8: תּוּבְרוּ וְשׁוּבְרוּ; *cf.* Levy, *TWb.* s. v. סבר. The form סובר corresponds to Arab. صَبَرَ, תובר and שובר, to an Arabic by-form ثَبَرَ. Similarly we find Hebrew שֶׁבֶר *grain* = Arab. ثُبْرَةٌ, a by-form of صُبْرَةٌ *pile, store of grain.*

[2] Barth, *ES.*, 1, 5.

[3] The Assyrian equivalent is amurrû (*cf.* Jensen, *ZA.*, X., 339 *sq.*) and אוּרְיָא stands for אֲוַרְיָא.

[4] *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 49, has לְבַד for לָמֶד *Lāmed.* חֲזָא *to see* may also be connected with the Syriac ܚܙܐ.

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c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; *e. g.*, שַׁתָּא *year*, אַתְּ *thou.*

d) As compensation for a shortened long vowel; *e. g.*, עִלַּוֵי for עֲלָוַי *upon*, נַמַּי (§ 182).[1]

e) To lengthen artificially a short word; *e. g.*, פּוּמָּא *mouth*, אַבָּא *father.*

f) To preserve a short vowel; *e. g.*, לִשָּׁנָא *tongue*, Arab. لِسَان, תִּיתּוּרָא *bridge*, Assyr. titûru.

g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in אַתְּ *thou*, in the pronominal ending of the participle, אָמְרַתְּ *thou sayest*, and in רַבּ *Rabbi*, usually pronounced רַב.[2]

Resolution of Doubling.—§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality, as from חִירֶק to צֵירֵי, or from פַּתַח to קָמֵץ, not otherwise.

Insertion of Consonants.—*Insertion of a Liquid.*—§ 46.

a) מ: אַמְגּוּזָא *nut.*

b) נ: חִינְגָּא *feast;* כַּנְדָּא *pot;* גַּנְדֵּר *to roll;* אִסְתַּנְדְּרָא *viceroy*, Pers. ustadâr, and other words.

c) ר: In the so-called Par'ēl forms: בַּרְזֵל *to shake*, גַּרְבֵּל *to mix*, פַּרְדֵּם *to cut*, הַרְזֵק *to imprison*, שַׁרְבֵּב *to let hang down*, שַׁרְבֵּט *to stretch oneself flat*, כַּרְכֵּשׁ or קַרְקֵשׁ *to strike, tingle*, כַּרְכַּשְׁתָּא or קַרְקַשְׁתָּא *shepherd's bell*, גַּרְגִּשְׁתָּא *clod*, דַּרְדְּקָא *schoolboy*, קוּרְקְבָן *crop, craw.*[3]

Note.—In words of foreign origin שׁ seems to be similarly inserted: בַּשְׁקַר *he searched*, Mandaic the same; אוּשְׁכָּפָא *saddler*, Assyr. aškapu = Arab أَكَّاف; *cf.* Assyr. iškaru = ikkaru = אִכָּרָא *peasant*, all before a *k*-sound.

Insertion of ה.—§ 47. A ה is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus אֲבָהָן *fathers*,

[1] The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a number of similar cases; *e. g.*, Saddûk, Abessalôm, Abennêr, Annân, for צָדֹק, אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, אֲבִינֵר, עָנָן or חָנָן. But, in cases like Abessalôm and Abennêr, the versions may have taken them to be composed of אֶבֶן (= בֵּן) + שָׁלוֹם or נֵר.

[2] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 23, H.

[3] *Cf.* Fleischer in *Levy's Dict.*, IV., 484 *b*.

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parents, plural of אַבָּא; אַמְהָא *bond-maid;* אַמְהוּ *the status of bond-maid;* בִּילְהֵי *flashes* (√בלי), נַנְהָא *mint;* שׁוּלְהֵי *end;* אַטְמְהָתָא *flanks;* אִמְּהָתָא *mothers.*

Insertion of a Semivowel.—§ 48. In the plural of the noun ו or י is in a few cases inserted before the ending of ־ָתָא to avoid an hiatus.[1]

ASSIMILATION.

§ 49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.—§ 50. 1. The א is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs פ״א—frequently in the Ithpe'ēl, more rarely in the Ithpa''al.[2] Thus, אִתְּמַר *was said,* אִתְּסַר *was forbidden,* אִתְּנַח *he sighed,* אִתְּמְרָא *was said,* אִיתְּסֵי *was healed,* דְּיִילִידוּ *that have been born* (Ned. 30 *b*), לִיבַּסּוּמֵי *to cheer oneself up with wine* (Meg. 7 *b*, Col. MS. לְאִיבַסּוּמֵי), לְקַּלְקוּלֵי (M. MS. Er. 49 *a*, eds. לְאִיקַּלְקוּלֵי), אַלְּתַר *on the spot, at once*, for אַל אֲתַר. In the last word the ל is not doubled. מְנָאן *whence* for מִנְאָן, from מִן אָן; רְבִינָא a proper name for רְבִינָא = רַב אֲבִינָא.

2. ה is progressively assimilated in אִינּוּן *they,* הָנֵי *these,* בְּדַרְתּוֹן *their being dispersed* (eds. A. Z., 10 *b*), מִשְׁתַּלְּיתוּ *you are tired* (A. Z., 72 *b*); אַדּוּמֵי *to cut to pieces.*

3. ח is assimilated in מְסוּתָא *bath* (orig. מְסוּתָא, § 90); מַסָּא *shovel,* לִישַׁלּוֹפִינְהוּ O. MS., Sabb. 98 *b*, √שׁלחף; תּוּתָא *below;* כּוּתָּא a certain dish (= כּוּתְחָא).

4. ע is assimilated in אִיתְבַּידָא *was done*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 *a*, שַׁב *seven*, which stands for שַׁבּ* = šabbu = šab'u. Similarly תְּשַׁ *nine*, V. L. Taan. 13 *b*, for tiššu = tiš'u.[3] אַפָּא *hyena*, for אַפְעָא (§ 27). By regressive assimilation מַבְּרָא *ferry,* מַבּוּרָא *ferry-man.* אִיבֵּי (= אִיבְעֵי) Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *ab*, 14 *b*, תִּיבֵּי *ibid.* 20 *b*; מִיבֵּי *ibid.* 18 *b*.

[1] *Cf.* Sachau, *Skizze des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 15.
[2] *Cf.* Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1; *ABV.*, 10.
[3] *Cf.* Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1.

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5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb סלק *to go up, ascend:* לִיסַּק, תִיסַּק, for לִיסְלַק, תִיסְלַק; in אַ־ *upon* (§170), זִיקְתָא *sharp-shooter* √ זנק or זלק.

6. נ is assimilated in אַתְּ *thou*, אַתּוּן *ye*, אִתְּתָא *woman*, אַפָּא *face*, עִיזָא *goat*, אַבּוּבָא *flute*, שַׁתָּא *year*, מִשּׁוּל *on account of*, מִסַּק V. L. Pes. 3 *b*, in verbs פ״נ, and in verbs ל״נ before ־נָא, ־נַן; also in מִ־ *from*.

7. ד is assimilated in גּוּשָּׁא *heap*, M. MS., Er. 14 *b*, קַמָּא *first*, קַמֵּי *before*, שִׁתָּא *six*, שִׁתִּין *sixty;* אַ־ *until* (§ 182).

8. ת is assimilated in נְקִיטוּ *ye hold*, eds. Pes. 110 *b*; שַׁמְּתֵיהּ *I put him under the ban*, M. Q. 17 *a;* אַנְחַת *hast pleased*, Ḥull 137 *b;* אִיכָּא *there is* (אִית כָּא) לֵיכָּא (*sic*) *there is not* (= לָא אִית כָּא); in the reflexive stems not ע״י or פא״י before dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants: אִיזְּבַן *was sold*, אִיזְּהַר *took heed*, אִישְּׁתַּבְשָׁא *was persuaded*, אִיתַּגּוּר *they made profit*, a. o.

9. מ is assimilated in תַּגָּרָא *merchant*, Assyrian tamgaru; אַרְדִּיכְלָא *artisan*, Assyrian dimgallu, with prothetic א and inserted ר; שְׁלָדָא = سلّم = Assyr. šalamtu.

Partial Assimilation.—§ 51 *a*). א is partially assimilated to ט, צ and כ, and becomes ע in טַיְיעָא Arab. (طائى), צַלָּעֵי *tanners*, עֲצִיצָא *pot*,[1] עִיכְלָא *a measure*.[2]

b) ג is assimilated to שׁ in כְּשׁוּרָא *joist*, Assyr. gušûru. כ to ז and ח in זְגוּגִיתָא *glass*, Heb. זְכוּכִית; גְּחִילְנָא for כּוּחִילְנָא a certain bird. ק to ר in גְּרִיצְתָא *twist*, √ קרץ.[3]

c) ת is partially assimilated to ז in the reflexive stems of verbs פ״ז: אִיזְדְּהַר *he took heed*, אִיזְדְּקִיק *he attended*, and without transposition אִדְּזוּטַר *it seemed small*, 'Ên Ya'aq. Sanh. 95 *a*. To ל and ר:[4] in זוּלְטָא *hod*, זוּטְרָא *small*, (§ 56), בֵּיטְרֵי name of a place. To צ: in טַצְדְּקָא *excuse*, טַצְהַר *white spot*, and in

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, 69.

[2] *Cf.* Palestinean עטם Aph. of טעם; עֲטַעֲמָה *something to taste*, עַטְמָא *flank*, עַכְסִילַו *Kislēv*, עִכּוּל *digestion*, עַטְלִיז *κατάλυσις*, עַגְרוֹן *white*. In later literature עִכְפַּת *concerns*. Arab. عشقلون *Ascalon*. Assimilation of כ to ע occurs in עַקָּבָה *retention*.

[3] *Cf.* גְּבִירְגַּר *κυνηγός*.

[4] *Cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 36 *sq*.

verbs פ׳צ: אִיצְטְרִיךְ *was necessary*, אִצְטַעַר *he grieved*. To ח: in טחר *to press*. To ד: in לְהִזְדַּלְדֵּל, Alfasi B. B. 8 *a*.[1] To ק: in קטל *to kill*, קְטִינָא *small*, קוּשְׁטָא *truth*.

d) ס is assimilated to a liquid in עַרְזְלָא *cradle*, טַיְּיזָן *proud*,[2]

Reciprocal Assimilation.—§ 52. *a*) Here belong מְזָגָא or מְזַגָּא (§ 92), Hebrew מֶסֶךְ and מֶזֶג,[3] ס first assimilated to מ, then כ to ז. Similarly בְּזָגָא for פַּתְכָא *bundle*. But they may also be two parallel forms. In זְוָדָא *outfit*, Assyr. çubâtu, zubâtu, *dress*, צ is assimilated to ב, then ת to ז, ב becomes ו. צַבֵּת *to prepare* still occurs as variant to זַוֵּד.

b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. גָּפְרִית *sulphur* (Hebrew) appears as כִּבְרִית. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike.[4]

DISSIMILATION.[5]

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. ל dissimilates to ד in פִּדְפִּילְתָא *pepper*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*; to נ in נַהֲמָא *bread*; נִיהֲלָא *to* (§ 177); to ר in גַּרְגְּלִידָא *slice*, אַרְמַלְתָּא *widow* (through an intermediate *אַלְמַלְתָּא); but the stem may be רמל; מְבַרְבְּלִיתָא *mixture of white and black*.

2. נ dissimilates to ר in תְּרֵין, תַּרְתֵּין *two* (but תִּנְיָנָא *second*).

3. ר dissimilates to ל in תּוֹרְבְּלָא *wild ox*; גַּרְגִּילָא *rocket*.

4. ד dissimilates to ת in בַּגְדְּתָאָה *the Bagdadean*. To ל in לְאִידְּבַק אנא בזרעיה *that I should be connected with his descendants*. M. MS., Pes. 49 *a*.

5. ט dissimilates to ת in בּוֹטִיתָא *spark*, alongside of בּוֹטִיטָא

[1] *Cf.* Targ. and Syr. אזדרכל. In later Hebrew I have met with נִזְמַזְגוּ.

[2] טַיְּיזָן or טַיְּיסָן is in form and etymology identical with Arab. طَيْشَان, from طاش *to be out of mind*. For the development of meaning *cf.* יָהִיר *proud* and Arab اِسْتَيْهَرَ *to be insane*.

[3] *Cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 33, 51.

[4] *Cf.* Haupt, *BA.*, I., 3; *W. B. H.* (*Hebraica*, I., 231).

[5] *Cf.* Haupt, *AEV.*, XII., 17-20; *W. B. H.* (*Hebraica*, I., 224 *sq.*).

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VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 54. *a*) Initial consonants. א is dropped in חַד, חֲדָא *one*, חֲרָא *another*, and in the imperative of אתא *to come* and אזל *to go*.[1]

נ is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs פ״נ, following the analogy of the imperfect.

§ 55. *b*) Within the word. א is elided in contractions: לֵית *there is not*, from לָא אִית; הָלֵין *those*, from הָא אִלֵּין. It quiesces in a preceding vowel: תּוֹרִיתָא *form*, from תּוֹאֲרִיתָא; רֵימָא *wild bull*, רֵישָׁא *head*, especially in פ״א verbs. It is also elided in the adjective ending ־ָאָה (§ 82).

ה is syncopated in נִידוֹ, תֵּינָח (§ 124).

ח quiesces in a preceding vowel in שׁוּדָא *favoring*, שׁוּתָא *sprout*, אֲנַן *we*, הֲדָדֵי *one another*, אוּרְשִׁינָא a certain bird = Assyr. aḫaršânu, or aḫuršânu, Syr. ܘܪܫܢܐ, Arab. وَرَشَان, *ringdove*. It is syncopated in תּוֹתֵי *beneath, below*.

§ 56. ע quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is ע: דּוּץ *to stick in*, דּוּת *to exude*, סוּר *to visit*, תּוּר *to be awake* (secondary root of עוּר), עִיף *to double*, Arab. ضعف. It quiesces also in a few verbs פ״ע: מֵיבַד *to do*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60*a*, מֵיקַם *to pronounce incorrectly*, Ned. 16*a*, and in זוּטַר *small*, from זעטר = זעתר (§ 56), *i. e.*, זער with infixed ת. It is syncopated in אִטְבָא *ring*, רִיפְתָּא *bread*, and quiesces in the compound numerals חֲדֵיסַר *eleven*, תְּרֵיסַר, *twelve*, etc. (§ 136). In בָּנַן *we want*, Col. MS. Zeb. *passim*, for בָּעֲנָן.

§ 57. ג is lost in זוּוָא *pair, scissors*, and אַבֵּי *at, upon* (§ 174). The *g* in this case first became g^u, then the separate elements *g* or *u* were lost.[2] Perhaps belong here שַׁבְּשׁ and שַׁבֵּשׁ?

§ 58. ל quiesces in קוֹמַר καλαμάριον, M. MS., Sabb. 80*a*.

ר quiesces in the preceding vowel in קוּקְיתָא a certain bird, √קרק, in the compound בֵּיזְרָא for בֵּיר זַרְעָא (or origin. בִּזְרָא from בַּר זַרְעָא), and in אֲמֵינָא *I say*.

[1] *Cf.* Hebr. חַד, נַחְנוּ; Arab. نَحْنُ, مُرْ; Syriac ܡܪ, ܐܬܐ, ܙܠ.

[2] This phenomenon is frequent in Indo-European languages. *Cf.* also Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XXII., 107.

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מ is dropped in a few participles of Pa''ēl: שַׁבֵּשׁי *trim the vine*, B. M. 73 *a;* יַיבְּמִינַן Yeb. 41 *b;* סַלְּקִי M. MS., B. Q. 48 *a;* קַדְּמִינַן Pes. 53 *b*, and others.

נ is syncopated in מְנַשְׁתִּיהּ *makes water* (*sibi*).

§ 59. ד is dropped in אוּנָא *ear*. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's *Neuh. Wb.*, III., 312 *b*, that ד interchanges with ו is true, then אוּנָא may come from אוּדְנָא=אוּנְנָא).[1] In זְרִתָא *sorb-bush*, for זְרְדְּתָא.[2]

§ 60. *c*) Final consonants. א, ו and י quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems ל״א, ל״ו and ל״י. The two former then pass into ל״י. The י appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. ח and ע are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like א. Thus, גנא = גנח *to rumble*, ע in נִכְיָא *mint*, אִירְיָא *argument*, בזי *to break*, טבי *to sink*, פדי *to wound*, פסי *to spoil*, שׁפי *to slant*, שׁקי *to sink*, אשתמודי *to have identified*.

§ 61. ר quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and imperative Qal: אֵימָא, אֵימָא, תֵּימָא, לֵימָא, נֵימָא; √אמר *to say*.[3] In שְׁדָא *he sent*, M. MS., Ber. 42 *a*, סְכָא *he locked*, H. MS., B. M., 86 *a;* in זוּטָא *small*, אָשֵׁי *Asher;* perhaps also in אַיְיתַר *is superfluous*, but this may be אַיְיתַר (M. MS., Sabb. 64 *a*).

§ 62. ל is dropped in some forms of אזל *to go:* אֲזָא *he went*, M. MS., B. M. 101 *b*, 103 *b*, Col. MS., Pes. 111 *b;* אָזֵי *he goes*, Col. MS., Pes. 110 *b;* נֵיזֵי *let him go*, K. MS., Mem. 2 *a;* זִי *go*, Col. MS., Pes. 104 *b*.[4] In שְׁקָא *he took*, Qidd., 81 *b*, M. MS., A. Z. 3 *a;* שָׁקֵי *takes*, MSS. Sukk. 52 *b*. In קְלֵי for קְלִיל *light*.

§ 63. נ is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun, תְּרֵי, תְּנֵי, תַּרְתֵּי, *two*, מָאתַי *two hundred*, אָמְרֵי *they say*, בֵּי *between*, כֵּי for כֵּן, דֵּי, דְּ for דֵּין; מְנָא for מְנָאן (§ 90). The feminine plural ending ָן loses its נ only in one case: לִיתְצַדָה *they may be caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 *b*.

[1] For a change of ד to נ, *cf.* Praetorius, *BA.*, I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.

[2] Perhaps also in the Palestinean proper name יַלְתָא for ילדתא *child*, as in Syriac But it may also be a shortening of אֵילַתָא or contraction of יַעֲלְתָא. *Cf.* also §§ 116. 119.

[3] *Cf.* אָמְאָ *says*, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy in *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 225.

[4] The verb אזא *to heat* is perhaps an Aph'ēl of אזל. For the development of meaning *cf.* Hebrew הֶעֱלָה, הִסִּק, and Syriac שׁגר. *Cf.* also § 37.

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§ 64. ד is dropped in דִּיאֲבָא for דִּיעֲבַד (§ 159).[1]

ת is dropped in בֵּי *house*, שַׁבָּא *Sabbath, week;*[2] in the absolute state of feminine nouns: אוּחְרִי or אוּחֲרִי *another*, אִנְתּוּ *matrimony;* is not retained even before suffixes in לְאַחֲרוּהּ *to do it late*, Sabb. 119 *a*, לְאַסְיוּהּ *to heal him*, לְנַסְיוּנְהוּ *to try them*, Rašî Sanh. 101 *b;* and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.

§ 65. ב is apocopated in תוּ *again*, נְשָׁא *blew*, MSS., B. M. 85 *b*, 86 *a*, Rašî Taan. 24 *a;* נָסֵי *marries*, Col. MS., M. Q. 3 *b*, נְסֵי Col. MS., Zeb. 5 *a*.

§ 66. ם is dropped in many forms of קוּם *to stand:* אֵיקוּ, תֵּיקוּ, לֵיקוּ, נֵיקוּ; קוּ *stand thou*, Col. MS., M. Q. 25 *b*, M. MS., Sanh. 95 *a;* קָאֵי, קָא, *stands;* קָיֵינָא *I stand*, Col. MS., Zeb. 19 *a*, מוֹקֵינָא *I explain, ibid.* Pes. 90 *a;* אוֹקֵימְתֵּיהּ *I explained it, ibid.* M. Q. 25 *a*. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.

Transposition of Consonants.—§ 67. בְּתוּא, בְּוּתָא *desolation;* מִרְדָּא, מַדְרָא *water-course;* סִפְטָא, טִפְסָא *chest;* קִילוּפָא, קִיפוּלָא; פּוּכְיָא, בּוּכְיָא, *shuttle;* and others.

B. VOWELS.

Imâlè.—*Pathaḥ.*—§ 68. Original *ă* in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to *i* (or *ĕ*). Thus, פִּיסְחָא *Passover*, בִּשְׂרָא *meat*, שִׂטְנָא *Satan*, רִיגְלָא *foot*, קִימְחָא *flour*, זִימְנָא *time*, גִּינְתָא *garden;*[3] in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect Pa'ēl when the second stem-consonant is ר or a guttural: *e. g.* קִירֵב *brought near*, מִיעֵט *lessened*, B. Q. 51 *b;* צִיעֵר *vexed* Qidd. 70 *b*, Ned. 62 *a;* פִּירֵשׁ *separated himself*, Sôt. 4 *b;* נִיהֵם *roared*, Ḥull., 59 *b;* in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Pa'ēl לִיתְיְתֵיהּ *let him lower it*, Sabb. 67 *a;* לִצִינְנַהּ *let him cool her off*, B. B. 74 *b;* in the enclitic pronoun זְבִנִית *hast bought*, B. M. 51 *a*, קְטַלִית *hast killed*, *ibid.* 59 *b;* מְזַבְּנִית *sellest*, *ibid.* 72 *a*, סְתְרִית *breakest down*, B. B. 4 *a;* in the perfect אַרְבְּעִית *placest*, B. Q. 114 *a;* in the first syllable of the Aph'ēl הֲוָה מֵיגְמַר *taught*, A. Z. 3 *b*, דְּמֵיכְלֵי *that he shout*,

[1] *Cf.* בְּדִיאָבָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 181.
[2] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., 34.
[3] Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.

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B. B. 5 *a;* לְאִישְׁתּוּנֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b;* לְאִיפְּסוּלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 15 *b* (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long Qāmēç.—§ 69. Original long קָמֶץ at times changes to ê (or î). Usually so when â has arisen in consequence of the quiescing of an א: תֵּיכַל, תֵּימַר, תֵּיזִיל, מֵיכַל, מֵימַר, מֵינַס, from original תָּאכַל*, תָּאמַר*, תָּאזִיל*, מָאכַל*, מָאמַר*, מָאנַס* (primarily 'תָּא, 'מָא); רֵישָׁא *head* for רָאשָׁא*; מֵישְׁקְלֵי inf. of שְׁקַל *to weigh, be worth*, Ar. 18 *b;* מֵיגְמְרֵי *to study*, Hôr. 12 *a;* מֵיהְדְרֵי inf. from הדר *to return*, Ar. 23 *a;* חֲדְתֵּי, חֲדַתֵּי *new*, B. M. 73 *a;* חִיוָּרְתֵּי *white*, אוּכָּמְתֵּי *black*, רַבְּתֵי *great*, זוּטְרְתֵּי *small*, and other words like them.[1] זוּטֵי *small*, מֵינַיְיכֵי *your vessels, garments*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b;* רֵיהֲטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a;* שֵׁיבְקַיְידְהוּ *their deceased parents or relatives*, B. M. 70 *a;* אֵינִישׁ *man*. So also in the infinitives קְטוֹלֵי, קַטּוֹלֵי, אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקַטּוֹלֵי (§ 223); and perhaps in the plural ending of the verb ־ין for ־ָן.[2] A kind of imâlè is diphthongization (§ 80).

OBSCURATION OF Â.—§ 70. The obscuration of â to ô, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud. תַּנּוֹיָא *study*, פַּרְשִׁיּוֹתַיְיכוּ *your weekly lessons*, Ber. 8 *b;* רִבְבוֹתָא *myriads*, K. MS., Sanh. 26 *a* (*bis*); מוֹר *my lord*, P. MS., Ber. 58 *b*.[3] אַבְשׁוּנָא *dried ears of corn;* אִדְרוֹנָא *bed-room*, נִסְיוֹנָא *trial*.

The nominal ending ân is at times obscured to ô or û under the influence of the *n*.

VOCALIC EPENTHESIS.—§ 71. The final vowel î of the first com. and the 2. fem. sing. and the final û of the 3. masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, qat(a)l(a)tî becomes qat(a)lait, and contracted q(a)t(a)lêt, or q(a)t(a)lît, קַטְלֵית or קְטַלִית.

[1] Barth takes the ending ־תֵּי to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun je'etî (*ZDMG*. 46, 688, n. 1). In Mandaic this appears as tê (Noeldeke, *MG*. 154); in Palmyrean it has the form תה (Halévy, *Maḥbereth*, p. ס"ה); in Arabic تَا, تِهِى, تِهْ, تِى. But how would this theory explain the masculine form חֲדְתֵּי? It is noteworthy that this ending ־תֵּי appears only in adjectives.

[2] So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending ـَة is pronounced è, such forms as رَمَى are pronounced *ramè*, *cf*. also the transcription of Aramaic ê, î, by Arabic â (Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XVII.). For a similar change in Amharic, *cf*. Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprache*, p. 23.

[3] *Cf*. מור, *HG*., 407, 417. Still the ו in some cases may simply denote קמץ, not חולם. *Cf*. גְּבְזוֹרָל, *TG*. ed. Cassel, 41; בְּסְמוֹרָא, *ibid*. 41, and G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG*. 32, 737.

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Similarly, the perfect q(a)t(a)lû קְטַלוּ becomes q(a)ta^{u}l contracted to q(a)tôl קְטוֹל (§§ 232, 243).[1] The pronominal suffixes akhi *thine* (f.), akha *thine* (m.) and ahi *his*, become a^{i}kh, a^{a}kh, a^{i}h and contracted, ־ֵיךְ, ־ָךְ, ־ֵהּ. The last form ahi for ahu or ihu, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form ihu became by transposition uhi (*cf.* אֲבוּהִי *his father*) and in analogy of the latter such a form of ahi was formed.

INFLUENCE OF CONSONANTS ON VOWELS.—§ 72. The quiescence of one of the consonants א, ו, י, ה, ח, ע, or ר, lengthens the preceding vowel. Thus אֵימָא *I say* (for אֲאמַר*); רֵישָׁא *her head* (for רֵאשַׁהּ*) סְגִי *he went* (for סְגִי*=sagii̯); מֵיבַד *to do* (for מֶעְבַד); גְּנָא for גְּנַח *it rumbled;* קוּקִיתָא for קֻרְקִתָא* name of a bird. The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears; as שְׁקָא, נְשָׁא, דִּיאֲבָא, for שְׁקַל, נְשַׁב, דִּיעֲבַד (§ 159); אִי for אִן *if.*

§ 73. The neighborhood of an ע sometimes produces imâlè: אַרְבְּעֵי *four*, חֲדֵיסְרֵי *eleven* (=חֲדָאעֲסְרֵי), אַרְבֵּיסַר (אַרְבְּעָא עֲ'), שְׁתֵּיסַר (שִׁתָּא עֲ'). On the other hand, ר and the gutturals ה, ח, ע change a preceding short vowel *ĕ*, *i*, or *u*, to *a:* בַּר *son* (בֶּר), תַּרְתֵּין *two*, (תִּרְתֵּין*), לֵימַר *he says*, (לֵימְר*), יָדַע *knows*, נָגַהּ *is late*, אָמַר *says*, זָבַח *slaughters*, with *a* for *i*. But אָמֵינָא *I say* (for אָמְרֵנָא) and שָׂבֵיעְנָא *I was satisfied*, Col. MS., Meg. 7*b*.

§ 74. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times *ă* (or *i*) to *ŭ* (or *ō*). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects.[2] גּוּבְרָא *man* (already in Bibl. Aram.), דּוּבְשָׁא *honey*, גּוּפְנָא *vine*, אוּמָּא *leaven*, תּוֹמַרְתָּא *date-palm*, מוּמְחָא *a weaving*, Sabb. 58 *a*, טוּלָא *shade*, אוּלְלָא *wine-pressing*, עוּרְפִילָא *rain-shower*, פּוּרְצִידָא *grain of seed*, אוּרְזִילָא *the young of a gazelle;*[3] מוּקְשָׁה inf. Qal of קשי *to be difficult*, Yeb. 40 *a;* כּוּתָּח Pers. katah̩, a certain dish.[4]

NOTE.—In פּוּם *mouth*, we have an original nominative פּוּ +mimation. In the first syllable of אוּרְזִילָא we have an attempt to render the Arabic غ.

[1] Jastrow, s. v. כבד, reads Nidd. 56 *a* כַּבֵּיד *I swept*, which, in his opinion, stands for כַּבְּדִי. But this is a mistake. As is evident from the next page, we have here כַּבֵּיד, 3. person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

[2] It must be remembered that some of the forms with *u* may be by-forms.

[3] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, 17 *sq.*, *ZDMG.*, XXII., 455; Dalman, *op. cit.*, 65.

[4] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, XVII.; G. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.

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FLUCTUATING VOCALIZATION.—§ 75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original form. Thus אִיזְלָא *web* appears also as אוּזְלָא, אִיזוּלְתָא, אוּזְלְתָא or אוּזְלְתָא, and אוּדִילְתָא; צוּצְלָא a kind of doves, הוּדְבָא *fly*, appear also as צִיצְלָא, הִידְבָא, and similarly many other words.[1]

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.—§ 76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of קָמֵץ as it differs from פתח also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, בָּתְרָא, אָמְרִין are pronounced בַּתְרָא, אַמְרִין.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.—§ 77. Compensatory lengthening takes place in מֵמִילָא (§§ 77, 90), אֵיבוּ a proper name, for אַבּוּ (=Arab. أَبُو), בֵּידָא *liar*, (=בַּדָּאָה; *cf.* § 77), עֵיפֵּיהּ *its branches*, M. MS., Pes. 111*b*, for עַפֵּיהּ = עַנְפֵּיהּ of eds.; הָיְינוּ, for הַנּוּ = הָנְהוּ (§ 119); דְּדִיילוּנֵיהּ *that they may lift him up*, 2 M. MS., M. Q. 28*b*, for דְּדַלּוּנֵיהּ;[2] כּוֹכְבָא *star* (through an intermediate kakkabu); חֲצוֹצַרְתָּא *trumpet;* שִׁישׁוּרָא *chain;* כִּיכְלֵי *partridges;* צוּצְלָא or צִיצְלָא a kind of doves; קִיקַלְתָּא *dung-hill;* שִׁישַׁלְתָּא *chain;* שׁוּשְׁמָא *sesame;* הוּדְבָא or הִידְבָא *fly;* לוּלְבָא *palm-branch;* שׁוֹשְׁבִינָא *bridesman;* צְלוֹלִיבָא (=צלבליבא Çaph'ēl of לוליבא).

HEIGHTENING AND DEPRESSION OF VOWELS.—§ 78. Short *u* is heightened to *ō* in a final syllable: אֶקְטֹל, תִּקְטֹל. Long *o* is sometimes pronounced *ū* as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms קְטוּלֵי, קְטוּלֵי, etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes אַתּוּן, אִנּוּן, אִינְהוּ, ־הוּ, ־כוּ; in the perfect with transposed final vowel קְטוּל (§ 71); in the names of the letters יוּד, קוּף; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs ל״י: תְּנוּ, אִתְנוּ, etc.

Final *ē*, *ê*, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced *ī*: אִינְהִי *they*, חֲדִתִּי, חֲדַתִּי, *new*, etc., and in a few other cases; *e.g.*, דְּבֵיתְהוּ *his wife*, lit. *the one of his house*.

DIPHTHONGS.—§ 79. In diphthongs whose second element is י the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is ו the latter

[1] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 15.

[2] G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 754, cites Bar Hebraeus to Esr. 16:24, gaibhê for gabbê.

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is pronounced as בֿ or פֿ. Thus, בַּיְתָא *house*, בַּתְרָיְתָא *last*, are pronounced bai̯tho, bathroi̯tho, but טַוְיָא *roast*, דַּוְשָׁא *treading*, דַּוְקָא *exactitude*, tavyo, dafšo, dafko.

Diphthongization.—§ 80. The vowels ī, ē, ā, change sometimes to *ai̯*. The vowels ō and ū to *au̯*. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.

a) ī and ē: איתנייס איתְנַיְיסִי *I became sick*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 *b;* אַיְיפַּיִים *was satisfied*, B. Q. 113 *b;* אַיְיזַן *she committed adultery*, Sanh. 106 *a;* צַייל *clear*, Sabb. 23 *a* 'Arûch; דַּייק *pounded*, Bêçā 14 *b;* לַייק *connected*, Ḥull. 11 *a;* צַייר *bound up*, כַּייל *measured*, *ibid.* 105 *b;* צַיירֵי *are bound up*, B. M. 24 *b*, 108 *b;* דַּייסָא *grit;* מְדַיְין (=מְדַייל, מְדַיְין § 34) H. MS., B.B. 8 *a*.—אַעְיְלָא *she brought up*, Sabb. 116 *b;* אִתְוַוסַאי *they were soiled*, *ibid.* 124 *b;* שָׁדַיינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103 *b;* חָפַיינָא *I cover*, MSS. B. M. 49 *b;* קָצַיינָא *I shall cut down*, M. MS., *ibid.* 107 *b;* לַטַּייתֵיהּ *I cursed him*, B. B. 21 *b;* בָּנַיית *thou buildest*, B. B. 4 *a;* מְלַטַּיית *thou cursest*, Sabb. 151 *b;* אַמְטַיית *thou hast brought*, Ber. 9 *b;* עֲלַויי *upon*, Yalq. MS., Yômā 83 *b;* עֲלַוייהּ or עֲלַוְייהּ *upon him*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a* and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes ־ַייכוּ and ־ַייהוּ.[1]

b) ā: דַּייצִיפֵי a kind of dove; כַּיפִינַן (=כְּפִנַּן) *we are hungry*, B. M. 83 *a;* אַדְמַייתְנַיהּ *as long as they are wet* (*sibi*) (=אַדְמַתְנַיהּ), Pes. 111 *b*.

c) ū, ō: אַבְרַוְורֵי *pinnacles;* דַּוְשָׁא *passage, habit;* דַּוְלְלָא *skein;* שַׁוְכָא *thorn;* צַוְורוֹכִיתָא (=צוּדְנִיתָא) *food;* דַּוְקָא *exactness*.

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.—§ 81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the *a*-vowel being placed after the *i* or *u*-vowel. In such a case the last are usually consonantized and the first lengthened: בָּארֵי, בַּיְרֵי, בְּיָארֵי *orchards;* דִּצְיָצָא, דַּצַּיְצָא *pullet;* דְּאַהֲרָא, דִּיהֲרָא, זְהַרָא *rich landlord;* טוּרְדַיינָא, טוּרְדִינָא, *armory;* כִּיתוּכִיתָא, plural כִּיתַווּנַיְיתָא, *fine linen shirt;* מְתָארָא, מְתַוְּרָא, *poker;* טַיְיזָן, טַיְדָאן, *proud fool;* מַיְישָׁא, מְיָאשָׁא, proper name; נְסִיוֹבָא (nᵉsîbâ, nisi̯âbâ), כַּיְיקָא, כְּיָאקָא, νικη; נְשָׁוְרָא (nāšôrā), קוּקָאנֵי, קוּקָאנֵי,

[1] *Cf.* וַדַּיִין, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, p. 5; דַּיְכוּ, *ibid.*, 83, n. 10.

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קוּקְיָאנֵי; שׁוּרְיְיקָא (šerîqâ), שְׁחוֹור (šâḥôr).[1] Akin to this is the consonantization of the *u*-vowel in שְׁוָולְיָא, שְׁוָואלָאנֵי (Syr. ܫܘܠܐܢܝܬܐ) *lewd woman* (=תּוֹבַעַת).

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.—§ 82. *â'â* is contracted sometimes to *â*. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. קַמָּא *first*, בַּתְרָא *last*, הַדְיָיבָא *the Adiabenean*, לוּבָא *the Libyan*, שִׁירָא *silk*, נְהַרְדְעָא *the Nehardean* (Keth. 54 *a*, a. e.), אַרְמָא *the heathen* (Col. MS., M. Q. 12 *b*), קַפְּרָא if it mean *the Cypriote*, לְעֵילָא *above*, לְתַתָּא *below, beneath*;[2] בָּנָן (=בָּעָנָן) Col. MS., Zeb., *passim*.

NOTE.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אַבָּא אַרִיכָא as *Rabh of Arēkhâ*[3] falls to the ground, since אֲרֵיכָא might well stand for אֲרֵיכָאָה. Jastrow in his dictionary vocalizes אֲרִיכָא and explains it by *one who arranges arguments, a lecturer*. In such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be אָרְכָא, not אָרִיכָא. For although such forms may be found in the Targumim—*cf. e. g.* Levy's *Dict. on the Targ.*, s. v. נְדַר— they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that لَقَب by אָרִיךְ, which is generally taken to mean *tall*, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as *well-arranged, well-balanced, thinker*. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read אריכא as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲרִיכָא. For other explanations of the name *cf.* Muehlfelder, *Rabh*, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, § 64;

[1] *Cf.* Mišnic (סְפָא), פְּרִים, פָּארִים, פְּרָאס, and קְסִיוֹרָא. *Cf.* also Assyrian zi'arânu, ḫi'alânu, for zîrânu, ḫîlânu.

[2] With the two last words, some such word as צִדָּא *side* is to be understood.

[3] *Op. cit.*, § 64 *c*.

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Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v. אֲרִיוֹךְ; Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Trad.*, III., 147, note 3; *Heḥālûç*, ix, 18 *sq.*

§ 83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: *au* contracts to *ô; ai*, to *ê*, *î* (or *â*). אוֹתִיב *he placed*, אַתְנוֹ *they taught*, חָזֵי *sees*, תָּלֵי *hangs*, תְּשַׁדֵּי *throwest*, בְּעִיתוּן *you asked*, דְּכֵן *clean*, בָּעֵינַן *we want*, Col. MSS. *passim*, מְצַלֵּינָא *I pray*, M. MS., Ber. 28 *a*, and others. In nouns: אוֹרְזִילָא *young gazelle*, Syriac ܓܘܙܠܐ; דְּבֵיתְהוּ *his wife*. In qatl and qatal forms it is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization (§ 80). Thus זֵיתָא *olive*, מוֹתָא *death*, חוֹתָא *thorn;* but בֵּייבָא *veil*, בֵּייתָא (and בֵּיתָא) *house*, דֵּיירָא *inn*, דֵּינָא *arms*, דּוֹולָא *bucket*. In the plural ending *ai:* אִינָשֵׁי *men*, אַבְנֵי *stones*, מִלֵּי *words*.

Retention of Disappearing and Insertion of New Vowels. —§ 84. *Pretonic Qameç.*—In some cases original *ă* in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to *ā*, as in Hebrew. Thus כָּשׁוּרָא, Assyr. gašûru, *joist* (the variant כְּשׁוּרָא corresponds to Assyr. gušûru); מָחוֹזָא *Māḥôzâ;* חָזֵי or חָאזֵי *proper*, *fit*, for חֲזֵי; סָנֵי *hateful* (Col. MS., Meg., vocalizes סְנֵי), for סְנֵי; צָרִיךְ *necessary*, for צְרִיךְ; מָמוֹנָא *money;* מָגוּשָׁא *Magian.*[1]

§ 85. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. לְעָרוֹקוּ *let them run away*, B. B. 8 *a;* נִגְרוֹסוּ *let them study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b;* לְעָבֵידוּ *let them do*, B. B. 156 *a;* בַּשֵּׁילָה *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b;* לִיפְרוֹקִינָן *let him redeem us*, Sanh. 105 *b*, and others.[2] עוֹבָדָא *deed;* שִׁיטָרָא *document;* צִילְחָתָא *megrim;* כּוֹבָסָא *cluster of dates*. (But *cf.* § 92.)

§ 86. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of the imperfect Pa''ēl take *ē* or *i:* אִיקַטֵּיל, תִּיבָרֵיךְ; the preforma-

[1] *Cf.* Targumic כָּרָתֵי, קָטוֹרְתָא, (?) מָמוֹן, מָחוֹךְ, מָזוֹן. Most of these nouns are evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original *a* sound. *Cf.* also Syriac ܡܳܡܽܘܢܳܐ, ܡܳܓܽܘܫܳܐ, ܣܳܛܳܢܳܐ, all loan-words. (A verb ܚܳܢܳܐ in the sense of the Hebrew חנה *to encamp* does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

[2] In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. *Cf.* also § 230, note.

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tives of the imperfect Qal in ע״י and ע״ע stems: *e. g.*, תֵּיקוּם, תֵּינַח, תֵּיחוּשׁ; a nominal form like תּוֹמַרְתָּא; entirely new is the vowel in אֲבִיזָרָא (orig. abzâr), אִינְבָא *berry*.

§ 87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. אִשְׁתִּי *he drank*, Sabb. 141 *a;* אִגְמַע *he swallowed*, Sukk. 49 *b;* אִשְׁתִּיק *he kept silent*, Pes. 17 *a;* אִמְצִי *he was able*, Ned. 89 *b;* אִימְחָא *he objected*, B. M. 110 *a;* אִיטְשָׁא *he hid himself*, A. Z. 70 *a;* אִשְׁתְּיָא *she drank*, Yeb. 65 *b;* אִשְׁתִּיקָה *she kept quiet*, Qidd. 13 *a;* אִשְׁתִּיקוּ *they kept quiet*, Nāz. 32 *a*, Sôtā 35 *a;*[1] אִשְׁתּוֹ *drink ye*, Sabb. 41 *a;* אִנְטַרוּ *wait ye*, Ber. 53 *b;* אִיסַר *was spoiled* (§ 89), M. MS., Taan. 7 *a;* אִיזַן *she committed adultery*, K. MS., Sanh. 106 *a*, eds. אִיזְדַּן (§§ 80, 89); אִדְמָא *blood.*

§ 88. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the vowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. אִגְּרוּ *they will dwell*, M. MS., Taan. 25 *a:* אִימַנְּיוּהּ *they appointed him*, Sanh. 26 *a;* אַכְרַגָא *poll-tax;* and others. *Cf.* § 91.

LOSS OF VOWELS.—§ 89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes. אֲנַחְנָא became אֲנַחְן* and then אֲנַן (v. § 94), אַתְּ ,אַנְתְּ ,אַתִּי ,אַנְתִּי, became אַתְּ ,אַנְתְּ. The loss of final *û* in אַנְתּוּ ,אַתּוּ (v. § 94) is exceptional. In the enclitic pronouns ־ין is sometimes found for ־ינָא; in the perfect, the pronominal endings of the 1st and 2d person sing. have lost their final vowel. The final *û* in the 3d masc. plur. of the perfect has been frequently dropped with coincident coloring of the preceding vowel (v. § 71). In the other parts of the verb the loss of final *û* is very rare. The *î* of the 1st sing. is generally dropped in the objective suffix, rarely so in the possessive (v. § 109). The final vowels of the 2d and 3d sing. and the 1st plur. are generally dropped in both possessive and objective

[1] אִימְרְדָה B. M. 84 *b* does not belong here; it is Ithp'ēl. *Cf.* מִימְּרְדָא Keth. 57 *b*. The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect י and only differentiated orthographically. *Cf.* also Hommel, *BA.*, II., 357.

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suffixes.[1] Also in אִיסַר *became bad*, אִיזַן *committed adultery*, אֵימַת *when*, אִית *there is*, the final vowel is dropped.

Syncope of Vowels in Consequence of Resolution.—§ 90. Resolution of doubling with syncope of vowel is found in הַשְׁתָּא *now* (הַשְׁתָּא), מְנָא *whence* (מִן אָן);[2] מִמֵּילָא *of itself* (מִן מִלָּא); אַמִּטּוּל *on account of* (עַל מִטּוּל); אַלָּאוֵי *upon* (עַלָּוֵי).[3]

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Prothetic Lengthening of Word.—§ 91. The addition of a prothetic vowel frequently produces syncope (§ 88): אַטְרְפָא *leaf;* אַשְׁלָגָא a kind of alkali; אַפְּתָא (פִּתָּא) *bread;* אַצְּפָא (צִיפְּתָא) *matting;* אַרְקְתָא (רוּקְתָּא) *wrought metal. Cf.* אִיסַר and אִיזַן (§ 89). The same thing happens when a word is lengthened by the addition of a preposition; *e. g.*, אַבְּרָאֵי *outside*, אַגָּוָאֵי *inside.*

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Segholatization.—§ 92. שְׁטָרָא, שִׁטְרָא, *written document;* אִינְשֵׁי אִינָשֵׁי *men;* צִלְחָתָא, צִילְחָתָא *megrim;* תְּמָנֵי, תַּמְנֵי *eight;* תְּלָתִין, תּוּלְתִין *thirty;* עֲבָדָא, עוּבְדָא *deed, fact;* כַּבְסָא, כּוּבְסָא *cluster of dates;* and many others.

ACCENT.—§ 93. The traditional pronunciation accents always the penult of a word. Prefixed prepositions and conjunctions do not receive the accent.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.—A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. Independent Personal Pronouns.—§ 94. *a*) אֲנָא *I;* אַתְּ, rarely אַנְתְּ, *thou;* הוּא, אִיהוּ,[4] *he;* הִיא, אִיהִי *she;* אֲנַן, rarely אֲנַחְנָא, *we;* אַתּוּן, rarely אַנְתּוּ, אַתּוּ, אַנְתְּ, אַתְּ, *ye;* אִינְהוּ, rarely אִינוּן, *they*, masc.; אִינְהִי *they*, fem.

b) REFERENCES: אֲנָא *I*, Ned. 5 *a*, 44 *b;* B. B. 59 *b;* a. fr.—אֲנַן *we*, Ned. 56 *a*, Ber. 56 *b;* a. fr. אֲנַחְנָא *we*, B. B. 164 *a*, Sanh.

1 Whether the *i* of the 1st sing. of the possessive suffixes and the *a* in the plur. of verbs were pronounced or merely retained orthographically in Talmudic times we are unable to decide.

2 *Cf.* Tunisian Arab. m n i n.

3 *Cf.* Hebrew שֶׁ for שֶׁ־; מִ for מִ־ (מִיַּחַל Ps. 69:9); מֵעַמֵּיהּ *from his people* Targ. Onk., Lev. 21:14 and 23:29. *Cf.* also רְעַבוֹן, חֲבַקּוּק, יְבָמוֹת, for רַעֲבוֹן, חֲבַקּוּק, יִבָּמוֹת.

4 Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a*, vocalizes אִיהוּ.

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11 *ab* (taken from Biblical Aramaic).—אַתְּ *thou*, Ned. 5*a*, 21 *a;* a. fr. אַנְתְּ *thou*, Ned. 91 *b*, Taan. 29 *a;* Sabb. 30 *a;* B. M. 26 *b*, 39*b*, 109 *b;* a. e.—אַתּוּן *ye*, Ned. 50 *b*, 55 *a;* a. fr. אַתּוּ *ye*, Sanh. 109 *a*. דְאַתּוּ גַּנָּבֵי *that you are thieves;* אֲנָא וְאַתּוּ *I and ye*, Col MS., Pes. 110 *a;* אַתּוּ הוּא דְקַעֲבַדִיתוּ *it is ye who did*, etc., M. MS., B. M. 73 *a*. אַנְתּוּ *ye*, B. M. eds. 37 *a*. אַנְתּוּ גּוּפַייכוּ *ye yourselves*. אַנְתְּ *ye*, Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., a. l., n. 20). אַנְתְּ וַאֲנָא ז׳ *ye and I are seven;* אַנְתְּ גּוּפַייכוּ *ye yourselves*, B. M. 37 *a*. אַתְּ *ye*, Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., *loc. cit.*). אַתְּ וַאֲנָא ה׳ *ye and I are five*.—אִידְהוּ *he*, Ned. 55 *a;* a. fr. הוּא *he, it is*, B. B. 111*a;* Ned. 51 *a*, 55 *a;* a. fr. אִידְהִי *she*, Meg. 14 *a;* Nidd. 72 *b;* a. e. הִיא *she, it is*, Ned. 23 *a*, 50 *a*, 91 *a;* a. e.—אִינְהוּ *they*, masc., Ned. 20 *b;* a. fr. אִינּוּן *they*, masc. and fem., in older language, Keth. 23 *a;* Ned. 42 *b*, 52 *b;* Naz. 47 *b*, 57 *b*, 64 *b;* Taan. 18 *b;* B. B. 165 *b;* Ber. 50 *a;* B. M. 104 *b;* a. e. אִינְהִי *they*, fem., Ber. 44 *a;* Keth. 2 *b;* a. e.

§ 95. The demonstrative pronoun אִינָךְ is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. *Cf.* Keth. 111 *a*, Meg. 16 *a*, Ḥull. 53 *a*, Bekh. 5 *a*.

§ 96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun נְהוּלָא *he, she*. אַתְּ וְנְהוּלָא אַחֵי *thou and she are relatives*, B. M. 67 *a;* in older texts it must have occurred more frequently; *cf.* אֲנָא וְנְהוּלָא *I and he*, Aruch Compl. Nid. 25 *b;* אִידְהוּ וְנְהוּלָא *he and she, ibid.* Gitt. 68 *b*. Kohut, *Ar. Compl.*, s. v., has also the variant נַיילָא. The word is identical with נְהֵלָה or נִיהֲלָה originally *to her*, the ה having changed to ו or י. The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. *Cf.* נִיהֲלָא = נִיהֲלֵיהּ M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*, and lī, lan, *I*, *we*, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'anâ, 'anan.

§ 97. The forms אִידְהוּ, אִידְהִי, אִינְהוּ, אִינְהִי, are shortened from אִידְהוּא, אִידְהִיא, אִינְהוֹן, אִינְהִין, the first element אִי, אִינְ being demonstrative elements אִי, אִי+נ.[1] The forms הוּא, הִיא are used mostly as copula.[2]

[1] On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, *cf.* Fuerst, *Lehrg. d. aram. Id.*, p. 231 *sq.;* Hupfeld, *ZKM.*, II., 124 *sq.;* Boettcher, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 869, 2; Noeldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, pp. 68, n. 3, 92, n. 1; Duval, *Gram. Syriaque*, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, *Gram. d. aethiop. sprache*, p. 267; Merx, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 167; Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. אֲהוּ; Jastrow, *Diction.*, s. v. אִ. For the Neo-Syriac forms ahu, ahi, anhi, *cf.* Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xxxvii, 293 *sq. Cf.* also Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 17.

[2] In later literature: אֲנַן *we*, HG. 319; אַנְתְּ *thou* (masc.), *ibid.* 403; אַתּוּ *ye, ibid.* 404; אַתִּין (masc.), *ibid.* 208; אַתֵּן MV. 35; אִיהוּ *he*, HG. 394; [ד]הִיא=[ד]אִי *she, ibid.* 305.

b. Enclitic Personal Pronouns.—§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.

		Singular.		*Plural.*
1.	*a.*	(—)נָא	*a.*	(—)נָא, [(—)נַן, (—)נִין, (—)נִי, (—)ן]
	β.	(—)נָא, [(—)יְנָא, (—)נָא, (—)ן]	*β.*	(—)נַן, [(—)נָא, (—)יְנַן, (—)נַן]
2.	*a.*	(—)תְּ	*a.*	(—)תּוּ, (—)תּוּן
	β.	(—)ת, [(—)ית]	*β.*	(—)תּוּ, (—)תּוּן

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: אֲסִירַת לִי *thou art forbidden for me*, Sanh. 20 *a;* מִינַּסְבַת לִי *wilt thou marry me?* Keth. 81 *b;* מַדְבְּרַת *wilt thou lead? ibid.* 63 *a;* גָּבְיָאת *thou collectest payment, ibid.* 43 *b.*

§ 100. The forms under *a* are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under *β* with ל״י verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.

§ 101. The plural forms under *a* are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded by שְׁבָא. For examples see §§ 271, 272.

§ 102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives נ and ל with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the latter. לִיעַיְּינַן *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 *b;* לִיבַטְּלִינַן *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 *a;* נֵיתֵיאַן *let us infer, ibid.* 106 *b.*

§ 103. Rosenberg[1] sees in forms like אוֹקִימְנָא (Sabb. 83 *a*, B. M. 86 *a*, a. e.), אִידַּבְקָנָא (Sanh. 29 *a*), and אוֹתִיבְנָא (Sabb. 121 *b*), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneous; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; *cf.* below, § 106.

§ 104. The same author explains (*loc. cit.*) forms like תִּסְבְּרָא, תֵּימְרָא, as composed of the respective verb and the singular pro-

[1] *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, p. 15.

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noun of the second person "אַתְּ" with apocope of final "תְּ." The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like מִלְּתָא understood. Thus, תִּסְבְּרָא, תֵּימְרָא, = תִּסְבְּרָהּ, תֵּימְרָהּ; *cf.* נִצְרְכָא = נִצְרְכָהּ *we need it;* אִתְמְהָא = אִתְמְהָהּ *I wonder at it.*

§ 105. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuous use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely.[1] This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.

§ 106. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the singular in one and the same clause; *e. g.*, וְדָכְרִנַן נַמִּי דַאֲמַרִי לֵיהּ *and I (we) remember also having told him*, B.M. 8 *b;* דְּלַאו פַּרְסָאָה אֲנַן *for I (we) am not a Persian*, eds. *ibid.* 28 *b;* לָא מוֹקְמִינַן לֵיהּ אֲנָא *I (we) should not explain it*, Pes. 90 *a;* לֵירוּק אֲנָא *I spit out*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 *b;* נִיקוּץ אֲנָא *I shall cut down*, B.M. 107 *b.*[2] This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy[3] and Th. Noeldeke[4] into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic *nûn* in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלינא, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of ל״י verbs or are plurals used as singulars, or are due to both causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.

[1] For a similar promiscuous use of the pronouns in other languages *cf.* Böttcher, *op. cit.* § 878.

[2] An analogous use of the plural is found in the Jerusalem Talmud; *cf.* M. Schlesinger's *Aram. Verb. im Jer. Talm.*, p. 15 *sq.*

[3] *Neuh. u. chald. Wb.* s. v. נ.

[4] A. Rosenberg, *Das Aram. Verb. im Babyl. Talm.*, p. 28.

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c. *Possessive Suffixes.*—§ 107.

SINGULAR.

	With Singular Nouns.	*With Plural Nouns.*
1. c.	ִי	ַאי, ַיי, ִי
2. m.	ָךְ, ךְ	ָךְ, ָיךְ
2. f.	ִיךְ, ךְ [הְכִי, ִיכִי]	ָךְ, ָיךְ [ֵיכִי]
3. m.	ֵיהּ [ֵי, ַהּ, הִי, ְהִי, ְהוּ, הוּ, ִידְהוּ]	ֵיהּ [וֹהַּ, וֹהִי, וֹיי, וֹי, ָהוּ, ָהִי]
3. f.	ָהּ, ָא, [ַהּ, הָא, ְהָא]	ֵיהּ, ַהּ [וֹהַּ, ָהָא]

PLURAL.

1. c.	ִין, ַן, [ן, ָנָא, ָנָא, ָאנָא]	ִין, ן, ָנָן
2. m.	ְכוּ, [ְכוֹן, כוּ, כוֹן, כֶן]	ֵיכוּ [ֵיכוֹן, ֵיכֶן]
2. f.		ֵיכִי
3. m.	ְהוּ, [הוּ, ְהוֹן, הוֹן, ֶהֶן, הֶן, ָן]	ֵיכוּ [ֵיהוֹן, ֵיהֶן, ֵיהֶן, וֹהוֹן, ָהוּ, ִינְהוּ]
3. f.	ְהִי	ֵיהִי [ָהִי, וֹהִי]

§ 108. The form וֹהִי arose from ֵיהוּ by metathesis; ֵיהִי becoming וֹהִי. From this form is derived the suffix 3d masc. sing. הִי. ֶכֶן, ֶהֶן, and ָן are Hebraisms. ִינְהוּ is properly objective suffix. Forms in brackets are of rare occurrence. For examples, see Nouns.

§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.

1. First person: אִמָּא *my mother*, M. Q. 20*b*, a. e.; אֵם id. M. Q. 12*a*, Gitt. 70*a*, Sabb. 66*b*, Ber. 39*b*, Yôm. 78*a*, a. e.; אַבָּא *my father*, M. Q. 20*b*, Meg. 12*b*, B. M. 59*b*, a. e.; סָבְתָּא *my grandmother*, B. B. 125*ab;* בְּרִיר *my son*, Ber. 5*b;* בְּרַת *my daughter*, Ḥull. 95*b*, Keth. 54*a*, 109*b;* אִיתְּתַ *my wife*, B. B. 132*b;* בְּכוּלָּהּ יְדָא *into my whole hand*, Ber. 56*b;* לְפוּרְיָיה *to my bed, ibid.;* וְאַמְטִינְהוּ לְבֵיתָא *and bring them to my house*, Qidd. 22*b;* מִן בֵּיתָא עַד בֵּי מִדְרְשָׁא *from my house to the college*, Ned. 59*b:* (in the parallel passage Ber. 55*a* we have אוּשְׁפִּיזַאי for בֵּיתָא). מַאי דְּקַמָּא *what is that before me? i. e.*, how do I come to that? On קַמָּא, קַמָּה = קַמַּן *before us*, see Levy, *Neuh. Wb.* s. v. קַמָּא, I.

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2. Third person: אִתְּתָא שְׁכִיבָא *his* (thy) *wife is going to die*, Ber. 56 *a;* קַטְלִינְהוּ לְכוּלְּהוּ מָרְוָותָא *he killed all his masters*, B. B. 3*b;* מִי אִיכָּא אַבָּא דְּקָאֵים מִקַּמֵּי בְּרָא *would a father ever rise up before his son?* Keth. 62 *b;* דְּקוּלְסָא גַּבְרָא *whose husband is a kitchen-gardener*, Yeb. 118 *b;* דְּשׁוּשְׁמָנָא גַּבְרָא *whose husband is as small as an ant*, *ibid.*

§ 110. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: מָר *my lord, sir*, frequently; כְּוָת *like me*, Col. MS., Pes. 105 *b:* חֲדַאי נְפַשׁ חֲדַאי נְפַשׁ *rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul*, *ibid.* 68 *b;* מִין *from me*, B. B. 142 *b*, M. MS., *ibid.* Ḥag. 22*b*, *ibid.* 15 *b*, V. L. ad l. n. 4, Er. 53 *b*. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.

§ 111. אִית *there is* and לֵית *there is not*, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. אִיתַאי *am*, Ned. 81 *a;* אִיתִינַן Pes. 50 *a;* M. MS., *ibid.* אִיתְנַן *we are;* אִיתְנְכוּ Yeb, 116 *a*, אִיתִינְכוּ Pes. 87 *b*, אִיתְנִיכוּ *ibid.* M. MS., *you are;* אִיתֵיהּ *is*, B. Q. 46 *b;* אִיתְנְהוּ *they are*, R. H. 20 *a*, a. e., אִיתְנְהוֹן, Tam. 5 *a;* אתינון, Me'ila 7 *a*, read אִיתְנוּן = *ibid.* 5 *b;* לֵיתְנְהוּ *they are not*, Zeb. 14 *b*, 18 *b*, a. e.; לֵיתְנִיהוּ, Er. 46 *b*, Pes. 87 *b;* *ibid.* M. MS. לֵיתְנֵיְיהוּ; אִיתְנְהִי *they are*, fem., Šebû 14 *b;*

d. Objective Suffixes.—§ 112.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1. c.	־ַן, ־ִין, ־ַאן, ־ְתַן, ־ַתַן, ־ִי	־ִין, ־ַן, ־ָן, ־ִנָן, ־ִנָא, (־ֵ)נָן
2. m.	־ָךְ, ־ָאךְ, ־ִיךְ, ־ךְ, ־ִינָךְ, ־ַנָּךְ	־ִינְכוּ, ־ַנְכוּ, ־כוּ, ־ֵיכוּ
2. f.		־ַנְכִי
3. m.	־ֵיהּ, ־ֵי, ־ְהוּ, ־הוּ, ־הִי, ־ַהּ, ־ִנֵּיהּ, ־ִין, ־ַנֵּיהּ, ־ַן, ־נֵּיהּ, ־ְתֵּיהּ, ־ַנְתֵּיהּ	־ִנְהוּ, ־ַנְהוּ, ־נְהוּ, ־ִנּוּן, ־ַנּוּן, ־ִנּוּ, ־ַנּוּ, ־ִנָּא, ־ִנָּה, ־ְהוֹן, ־ְהוּ, ־הוּ, ־ַיְהוּ
3. f.	־ָהּ, ־ָא, ־ַהּ, ־ָהָא, ־ִיתָהּ	־ִנְהִי, ־ַנְהִי, ־נְהִי

§ 113. The distinction between the suffixes of the perfect and those of the imperfect are obliterated.

§ 114. The ת element in the suffixes is derived from the

[1] לֵיתוֹהִי *he is absent*, Keth. 22*a*, a. e., belongs to legal style. In אִיתוּ אֲנַן *we are* Pes. 50 *a*, אִית has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

objective particle יָת. This is clear from a form like דבלעיתה *that he swallow it*, Ned. 50 *b*, where the commentaries have דבלע יתה in two words.

§ 115. ־ֵיןְ, ־ָן are shortened forms for ־ֵיפֵּיה, ־ָפֵּיה; for ־ֵיפָּה, ־ֵיפָּא *cf.* the Targumic אִינָא, אִפָּא. But it may also be a mistake of the copyists: ינה stood for ינהו = ינה׳; the sign of abbreviation was omitted and then written ינא.—־ֵיפְהוּ is so vocalized by the Col. MSS. The דָּגֵשׁ shows the presence of the energetic *nûn*.

B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 116. Those referring to a nearer object, or to the subject under consideration, are:

Sing. masc. (דֵּן, דֵּין, הָדֵין, and contracted הַאי, דְּנָא, דְּנָן, הָן) *this, that*
fem. הָא, הָדָא, (הָאדֵי, עָדָא, דָּא, הָכִי); הַאי, Col. MS. הַאִי,
contracted from הָהִיא.
Plur. masc. הָנְהוּ, (הָיְנוּ, הָלֵין, אִלֵּין, עָדֵי) *these, those.*
fem. הָנֵי, (אֲהָנֵי, הָנוּן, הָלֵין).

§ 117. Those referring to a distant object are:

Sing. masc. הָהוּא, (הָאִיךְ, הָאִיךְ, הֵיכִי) *that one there.*
fem. הָהִיא, הָךְ, (הֵיךְ).
com. אִידָךְ *that one there, the other.*
Plur. com. הָנָךְ, אִינָךְ.

§ 118. אִידֵי, only in the phrase אִידֵי וְאִידֵי *both this and that, these and those*, is used for both genders and both numbers.

§ 119. REFERENCES: דֵּן (דֵּי+ן) Gitt. 85 *b*, a. e.; דֵּין Ber. 38 *b*, B. Q. 99 *b*, Sanh. 31 *a*, Keth. 17 *a*, Sôt. 35 *a*, a. e.—הָדֵין (הָא+דֵי+ן), Ker. 25 *b*, Keth. 103 *a*, Me'îlā 12 *b*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzîr.—דְּנָא (=דֵּן), Gitt. 85 *b*.—דְּנָן (דְּנָא+ן), Keth. 22 *a*, 89 *b*; Gitt. 85 *b*; B. M. 15 *a*, 18 *a*.—הָן (הָא+ן), Col. MS., Zeb. 89 *a*.—הָא (contracted from הָדָא) frequent.—הָדָא (הָא+דָא), Ned. 53 *a*, 55 *a*, a. e.—דָּא Ned. 41 *a*, Sabb. 52 *b*, a. e.—הָאדֵי (הָא+דֵי), Col. MS., Pes. 75 *b*.—עָדָא (only orthographically different from הָדָא), Pes. 53 *b*, B. M. 60 *a*, Bekh. 45 *b*.—הָכִי (הָא+כִּי=כֵּן), properly an adverb; MSS. Men. 3 *b*; כָּל הָכִי *all this*, Ber. 20 *b*;

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בְּלָאו הָכִי *without this*, אַבְּטוּל הָכִי *because of this*, frequent.—הַאי. frequent.—הַנְהוּ (הָןְ+הוֹן), frequent.—הַיְינוּ (=הַנּוּ=הַנְהוּ, with compensatory lengthening (v. § 77), הַיְינוּ מִילֵּי Hull. 11 *a*, eds.—הָלֵין (הָא+אִלֵּין), Tam. 11 *a*, B. M. 90 *a*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzīr.—אִלֵּין (אל+ין = Hebr. אֵלֶּה), B. M. 15 *a*, 67 *b*, 110 *a;* Taan. 17 *b;* B. B, 38 *a*, 63 *a;* Keth. 87*a*. Only in legal style.—עָדֵי (=הָדֵין), properly a singular, Gitt. 31 *b*, 45 *b;* Men. 34 *b*, a. e.; הַנֵּי (contracted from הַנְהֵי=הַנְהֵין), frequent.—אֲהַנֵּי (אֲ+הַנֵּי), only Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—הָנוּן, *TF*., p. 25.—הָלֵין, *ibid*. 1.—הָהוּא (הָא+הוּא) frequent.—הָאִיךְ (הַאי+ךְ) frequent. —הָאֵיךְ (=הָאִיךְ), Col. MS., Zeb. 49 *a*, a. e.[1]—דֵּיכִי or דֵּיכִּי (דֵּין+כִּי), B. M. 86 *a*, Zeb. 43 *b*, Hull. 90 *b*.—הָהִיא (הָא+הִיא), frequent.—הָךְ or הַךְ (הָא+ךְ), frequent.—הִיךְ (§ 69), M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*.—אִידָךְ (אִי+דָ+ךְ), frequent.—הַנָךְ (הָן+ךְ, § 119), frequent.—אִינָךְ (אִי+נָ+ךְ), Ar. 32 *b*, Bekh. 20 *b*, Meʻīlā 15 *b*, a. e.[2]

§ 120. Forms in parentheses are of rare occurrence, and belong partly to the Palestinean dialects.

§ 121. הָא is often joined to the following word, in which case the final א, which marks the length of the vowel, is not written. *E. g.*, הָדֵין, הַשְׁתָּא, הָכְתִיב = הָא דֵין, הָא שַׁעְתָּא, הָא כְּתִיב.

§ 122. הָא, הוּא, הִיא sometimes unite with a preceding word, in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change. Thus, לָא+הוּא becomes לַאו *is not;* אֵין הוּא becomes אֵינוּ, אֵין הִיא becomes אֵינִי *is not;* מַה הוּא is contracted to מַהוּ *how is it, how about?* and others. אַהַי+הָא becomes אַהַיָּיא; הַיְינָא=הַי+נְהִי+הָא; מַאי=מַה הִיא.

[1] The ךְ final in demonstrative pronouns is taken by M. Schultze (*Zur Formenlehre des Semit. Verbs*, p. 19, note 1) to be identical with the pronominal suffix of the 2d person; דֵּךְ, דָּךְ he translates *hic tibi*, *haec tibi*, אִלָּךְ would be *hae, hi, tibi*. In the latter form he sees the construct state of the absolute אִלֵּין. That ךְ represents here the 2d person is, however, not necessarily the case, since one and the same pronominal element may represent different persons. *Cf. ZDMG*., 1875, 172.

[2] *HG*.. ed. Hildesheimer, p. 96, הִיְנְהוּ; *Še'ēlt*., ed. pr., 86, הַנְהוֹן, הַנְהִי; הִינֵּי, הַיְינֵי. *HG*. 491; הַיְינְהוּ, *ibid*. 381. הַלֵּי *Letter of Condol. of Sam. Ha-Nāgīd to R. Hanan'ēl*, *Oçār Tōb*, II., 68; הָרִי, *ibid*. 226. *Cf*. for the demonstrative force of the ל the Arabic ذلك, تلك, Hebr. הַלָּזֶה, הַלָּז, הַלְּאָה.—הִינָךְ, *HG*. 374.—*Cf*. Targumic אִינָא *he*. אִיהָא (=הָהִיא) *MV*. 25. דֵּךְ *this* (legal style), *TG*. ed. Harkavy, § 555.

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C. COPULATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 123. *a*) The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

Masc. sing.	ניהו[1]	Masc. plur.	נינהו
Fem. sing.	ניהי	Fem. plur.	נינהי

b) References: מאי ניהו *what is it?* Ned. 38*b*; הוא ניהו *that it is, the very thing, ibid.*; אנא ניהו *it is I*, Taan. 24*b*; מאן ניהו *who is it?* Pes. 104*a*; מי ידענא היכא ניהו *do I know where he is?*—ניהי Ber. 44*a*, Ḥull. 43*b*, a. e.—כולהו חדא מינא נינהו *they all belong to one and the same kind*, Ḥull. 79*a*; and frequently.—נינהי Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, 9*b*, a. e.; *TF*. 9.

§ 124. Luzzatto[2] and Nöldeke[3] consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix נ, and the initial א lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) considers to be a mutilated הן=אן, הנה. Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הנני, הנך, etc., where that particle also exhibits a verbal force; but *cf.* Duval's objection, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 168, note 2. Merx (*Gram. Syr.*, p. 168) derives נינהו from a supposed form 'inin + hu through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter ניהו through syncope of medial נ. I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable ני, a contraction of נהי, which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of נהוי=להוי, the third person singular of the imperfect of הוא, הוי *to be*. That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew הנה may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of הוא is found in the term תינח *granted*, which is a compound of תהי and נח.[4]

[1] Col. MS. Alfâsî on Bêçâ 16*b* vocalizes ניהו, *i.e.*, ניהו (§ 80). *Še'ēlt.*, ch. 18, has ניהוא.

[2] *Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon.*, § 52. [3] *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 92, n. 1

[4] Levy, *Nh. u. ch. Wb.*, s. v. תינח.

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W. H. Lowe[1] has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed נ changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (*loc. cit.*) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher[2] also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.

§ 125. 1. הָיְנוּ, הָיְינוּ, frequent; הָיְנָא Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a;* הָיְנִי Col. MS., Zeb. 13 *b;* M. MS., Pes. 60 *a*, *this is*, *these are*, are contractions of הָי *this* and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form הָי נִיהוּ is cited V. L. ad Men. 92 *b*, notes 2, 3.[3]

2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with the copulative pronouns: M. MS., Taan. 20 *b* (*bis*) הָיְינוּ נִינְהוּ *these are.*

§ 126. הָיְנוּ .... הָיְנוּ means: *this is one and the same, e. g.,* הָיְינוּ וַרְדִּימָס הָיְינוּ מְנַחֵם *Wardimas and Menaḥem are one and the same person*, Sabb. 118 *b*.

§ 127. הָיְנוּ is sometimes used as a simple copulative pronoun: 'דִּלְאו הָיְינוּ אוֹרְחֵי' *this is something unusual*, Mun. MS., Sanh. 48 *a*. מַאי נִיהוּ differs from מַאי הָוֵי; the first meaning *what is it?*[4] the latter, *what would it become?*

D. RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§ 128. *a*) The older form of the relative pronoun דִּי occurs only in the Palestinean recension of Aboth I., 13, in legal style, in the combinations דִּיל־, דִּיד־ (דִּי + ל, דִּי + ד)[5] of the emphatic possessive pronouns, and at times in the combination דִּילָא (דִּי + לָא) *that not.* I have found besides but two examples of it: דִּי לָא תִכְּווּ בִּבְחַלְתִּי *that you may not share my fate*, Meg. 16 *a*, and עַד דִּי קְטַל *until he had killed*, Sanh. 96 *b*. The usual form of it is דְּ.

[1] The Fragm. of T. B. Pesaḥim, p. 38, note 1.

[2] מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן אֲרָמִי, p. 71.

[3] According to Halévy, *ZA.* IV., 59, הָיְינוּ is a contraction of הָא + אִי + כְ + הוּא!

[4] *Cf.* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[5] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 87; *cf.* Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, pp. 19, 55, 181.

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b) REFERENCES: דִּילִי *mine*, B. M. 109 *b*, Ned. 50 *a*, 61 *a;* דִּילָךְ *thine*, B. M. 109 *b*, Ned. 5 *a;* דִּילָהּ *her*, Naz. 30 *a*, Ned. 36 *b*, 70 *a*, Sabb. 80 *b*, B. B. 33 *b;* דִּילָן *our*, Ned. 49 *a;* דִּילְכוֹן *your*, B. Q. 117 *b;* דִּלְכוֹן, Suk. 44 *a;* דִּילְהוֹן *their*, Gitt. 84 *b*, B. Q. 117 *b;* דִּלְהוֹן Sukk. 44 *a.*—דִּידִי, דִּידָךְ, דִּידֵיהּ, דִּידָהּ, דִּידָן, דִּידְכוּ, דִּידְהוּ, דִּידְהִי, frequent.

c) The usual form of the possessive is דִּיד־; the form דִּיל־ occurs but seldom. דיד is a reduplication of the relative דִּי.

d) Instead of the usual וּלְדִידָךְ we find וְלָךְ דִּילָךְ *TF.*, p. 7.

E. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 129. *a*) מַאן, מַן (מִי) *who?* מַאי[1] (מַה, מָא) *what?* הֵי *which, which one?* (הֵידִי, הֵיְדֵין, הֵי דֵין, אֵידֵין) *which now* (*quisnam?*) (מַה דֵין) *what now* (*quidnam?*) מַהוּ, (מַהִי, מִיהִי, מַנִּיהִי) *what is it?* הַיְינוּ (הֵי + נִיהוּ or הֵיְדֵן+הוּא) *which is it?* מַנּוּ (= מַן+הוּא) *who is he? whose is it?* מַנִּי *who is she? whose is it?*[2]

b) REFERENCES: מַאן, מַן, מַאי, מַנּוּ, מַנִּי, frequent.—מִי A. Z. 41 *b;* מַה אַתּוּן בֵּיהּ *how do you deal with it?* הֵי frequent; הֵיְדֵין, Men. 109 *a;* הֵי דֵין, Ned. 26 *b;* אֵידֵין, מַה דֵין Tam. 32 *a;* הֵידִי MSS. Zeb. 69 *a;* מַהִי MS. R. 117, B. M. 2 *b*, Pes. 90 *b;* מִיהִי M. MS., B. M. 2 *b;* מַנִּיהִי (= מַה+נִיהִי) M. MS., B. B. 8 *a;* הַיְינוּ, Naz. 12 *a.*—מַאן מִינַּיְהוּ *which of them?* B. B. 12 *b*, for the usual הֵי מִינַּיְיהוּ.—מַאי מִשְׁתַּבַּע *why should he swear?* F. MS., B. M. 82 *b*.

F. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

a. Positive Indefinites.—§ 130. פְּלָן,[3] פְּלָנְיָא *Mr. So and So, N. N.;* פְּלָנִיתָא *Mrs.* or *Miss So and So.*—מִי *somebody.*—מִידִי,[4] מֵידֵם, (מִדַּעַם)[1] *something*, מִילְּתָא *something.*—מַן דְּהוּ, *somebody;* אִינִישׁ *somebody:* מֵידַע יָדֵיעַ הוּכְתָא דְּאִינִישׁ אִינִישׁ הוּא *it is known*

[1] מַאי is a contraction *a*) in some cases of מָא דֵין, *b*) in other of מָא הִיא (§ 122). *TF.* vocalizes מָאי.

[2] *HG.* 71, הֵיא; *ibid.* 233, הַאי; *ibid.* 438 אַי. *Še'el.*, pp. 6, 77, 80, 83, has הֵידָא, id. *HG.* 178, a. e. מַהוּא *Še'ělt.* I.; *HG.* 95, 104, a. e. הַיְינוּ *HG.* 276. מַה, מַאי used for מַאן *HG.* 22, 25, 68, 263.

[3] In later literature פְּלָן is used also for inanimate objects: בְּזוּזֵי פְּלָן *for so and so much money* Še'elt, 36; בְּדוּכְתָא פְּלָן *in such and such a place*, *ibid.* 51.

[4] In the opinion of Professor Haupt מִדִּי is not a mutilated form of מִדַּעַם but is the Hebrew דַּי, דֵּי, *sufficiency* + מִן *from;* literally, *of a sufficiency*.

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that the place belongs to this or that man, B. M. 21 *b; cf. ibid.* 23 *a.*—הָכֵי וְהָכֵי *this and that, so and so.*—חַד .... וְחַד *the one .... the other;* מָר .... מָר *the one .... the other* M. Q. 25 *b.*

§ 131. אִיכָּא *est qui, sunt qui* is used in the sense of *some:* אִיכָּא דְאָמְרֵי *some say.*

§ 132. כּוּלֵּי עָלְמָא *the whole world* is sometimes used in the sense of *anybody, anyone, everybody.*

§ 133. חִילָּק and בִּילָּק are used like our *Tom, Dick and Harry* for *anyone:* אֲנָא לָא חִילָּק יָדַעְנָא וְלָא בִּילָּק יָדַעְנָא אֲנָא שְׁמַעְתָּא יָדַעְנָא *I know no Ḥillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition*, Ḥull. 19 *a;* חִילָּק וּבִילָּק אָכְלֵי לֵיהּ *shall Ḥillāq and Billāq enjoy it?* Sanh. 98 *b.*[2]

§ 134. כָּל *all, every;* כָּל אֱינָשׁ *everybody, everyone;* כָּל חַד וְחַד *each and everyone;* .... כָּל מַאן ד *whoever;* .... כָּל ד *whoever, whatever;* ... כָּל מַאי ד *whatever;* כָּל דְּהוּ *whatsoever;* כָּל מִדַּעַם, כָּל מִידֵּי (Ned. 49 *a*) *anything.*

b. Negative Indefinites.—§ 135. לֵיכָּא מַאן, לֵית מַאן ד ..., כּוּלֵּי עָלְמָא לָא, לֵית ד ..., ד ..., *none, nobody, no one.*—לֵית ... לָא ... וְלָא כְּלָל, לָא ... וְלָא מִידֵּי, כָּל מִדַּעַם לָא, מִדַּעַם *nothing.*

NUMERALS.

A. Cardinals.—§ 136.

a)	*With Masculine Nouns.*	*With Feminine Nouns.*
1. א׳	חַד	חֲדָא
2. ב׳	תְּרֵין, תְּרֵי, תְּנֵי	תַּרְתֵּין, תַּרְתֵּי, תַּלְתֵּי
3. ג׳	†תְּלָתָא	תְּלָת
4. ד׳	†אַרְבְּעָא, אַרְבְּעֵי	אַרְבַּע
5. ה׳	†חַמְשָׁא	חֲמֵשׁ
6. ו׳	†שִׁתָּא	שִׁית or שֵׁית
7. ז׳	†שִׁבְעָא, (שַׁבְעַת)	שַׁב or שֶׁב, שְׁבַע
8. ח׳	†תְּמָנְיָא	תְּמָנֵי or תַּמְנֵי
9. ט׳	†תִּשְׁעָא, (תִּשְׁעַת)	תְּשַׁע
10. י׳	†עַשְׂרָא	עֲשַׂר
11. י״א	*חַד סַר, חַד עֲשַׂר	*חַד סְרֵי, חֲדֵי סְרֵי

[1] In Palmyrean מדעמא, *cf. ZDMG.* 42, 398, where the word is vocalized wrongly מִדְעֲמָא; read מַדַּעְמָא. Assyr. mindêma.

[2] This is perhaps connected with the Arabic فُلَق غُلَق (جاء بـ) *misfortune.*

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		With Masculine Nouns.	With Feminine Nouns.
12.	י״ב	*תרי סר, תרי עשר, תליסר	תרתי סרי, תרי סרי
13.	י״ג	תליסר, תלת עשר, תריסר	*תלי סרי, תלת עשרי, תלת עשרה, תלת סרי,
14.	י״ד	ארביסר, ארבסר	ארבסרי, ארבע סרי
15.	ט״ו	חמיסר	חמסרי, חמש עשרה
16.	ט״ז, י״ו	*שית סר, *שתי סר	*שית סרי, שית עשרה
17.	י״ז	*שב סר, שיבסר	*שב סרי, שב עשרה, שבע עשרה
18.	י״ח	*תמני סר, תמני עשר	*תמני סרי
19.	י״ט	תשסר	תשיסרי, תשסרי, תישסרי, תש עשרה

20.	כ׳	עשרין, עסרין	60.	ס׳	שתין, שתי	100.	ק׳	מאה
30.	ל׳	תלתין, תולתין	70.	ע׳	שבעין	200.	ר׳	מאתן, מאתי
40.	מ׳	ארבעין	80.	כ׳	תמנין, תמנן	1,000.	א, תת״ר	אלף
50.	נ׳	חמשין	90.	צ׳	תשעין	10,000.		(?)רבוא, רבבתא

b) References: תלתי, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*.—תני, with original *nûn*, as in תנין, Col. MS., M. Q. 9 *a*.—ארבעי: B. B. 30 *a*, 60 *a*; Er. 50 *b*; Col. MS., Pes. 13 *a*; a. e.—שבעת: Keth. 67 *b*; תשעת: B. B. 62 *b*.—חדיסר: Taan. 18 *b*.—חדי סרי: Col. MS., Zeb. 58 *b*.—חד עשר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—חד סר: R. H. 21 *a*; a. e.—תרי סרי: Keth. 62 *b*; a. e.—תרי עשר: 2 M. MS., Yôm. 69 *b*, 84 *a*; a. e.—תליסרי: B. B. 133 *b*; Gitt. 68 *b*.—תלת עשרי: Ned. 41 a.—תלת עשרה: Taan. 14 *b*.—תלת עשר: Keth. 77 *b*.—תלת סרי: Ber. 55 *b*.—ארבסרי: Ar. 12 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 17 *a*.—ארבע סרי: Ar. 12 *a*; Sabb. 98 *b*.—ארבסר: Pes. 4 *a*, 9 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—חמש עשרה: Ar. 12 *a*.—שית עשרה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שתי סר: Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*, 6 *a*.—שב עשרה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שבע עשרה: Er. 83 *a*.—שיבסר: Er. 76 *b*, Meg. 2 *a*.—שבסר: Bekh. 50 *a*.—תשיסרי: Ber. 28 *b*.—תשסרי: Sabb. 17 *b*.—תישסרי: Ar. 12 *a*.—תש עשרה: M. MS., Taan. 13 *b*.—תשסר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—עסרין: Col. MS., Meg. 6 *a*, 17 *a*.—תולתין: Col. MS., Pes. 68 *b*.—שתי: Col. MS., Pes. 111 *a*.—שתין, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*, vocalizes שתין.—תמנין: Ar. 13 *a*; a. e.—תמנן: B. Q. 115 *a*; a. e.—מאתי: Col. MS., Pes. 64 *b*.—רבוא: Sanh. 39 *a*.

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מְאָה does not occur in the plural. אֲלַף, in the construct state perhaps אֲלַף, in the emphatic state אַלְפָּא; in the plural אַלְפִין (Ned. 50 *b*), אַלְפָן (Keth. 106 *a*), and usually אַלְפֵי.

The plural of רִבּוֹא is רִבּוֹאִין (Ned. 50 *b*), רִבּוֹאָן (M. MS., A. Z. 16 *a*), רִבְוָון (Ḥull. 7 *a*), and commonly רִבְוָותָא (Sanh. 26 *a*, Gitt. 57 *a*, Pes. 62 *b*); that of רִבְבְתָא is רִבְבָן (Sanh. 16 *a*), רִבְבָתָא (Ber. 6 *a*), and רִבְבוֹתָא or רִבְבָוָתָא (MS. Karlsr. and R. Ḥananel, Sanh. 26 *a*).[1]

§ 137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in ־ָה; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetic forms are in the construct state.

§ 138. The ending ־ַיִן is contracted to ־ֵין, (־ֵי), ־ָן, ־ִין, in the numerals for *2*, *80*, and *200*. Final *â* has been changed to *ê* under the influence of adjacent ע in אַרְבְּעֵי, חֲדֵיסַר, תְּלֵיסַר and the like (§ 73). The ending *ê* in תְּמָנֵי represents an original *ai*. For the sifting of vowel in תְּמָנֵי for תְּמָנֵי, תּוּלְתִּין for תְּלָתִין, *cf.* § 92.

§ 139. In תְּרֵין and תַּרְתֵּין the original נ of the second radical has been dissimilated under the influence of the final ן (§ 53). The form תְּרֵי is formed by analogy of תְּרֵין. In תַּרְתֵּין original *i* of the first syllable became *a* under the influence of the following ר.[2]

§ 140. The following examples will illustrate how compound numbers greater than 19 are formed:

עַשְׂרִין וְחַד	21	Bekh. 50
עַשְׂרִין וְתַרְתֵּין	22	Meg. 6*a*
תְּלָת מְאָה וְשִׁתִּין וְאַרְבְּעָה	364	Yômâ 20 *a*
שִׁיתָּא אַלְפֵי	6,000	B. B. 73
תְּרֵיסַר אַלְפֵי	12,000	M. Q. 10 *b*
מְאָה אַלְפָּא	100,000	Bekh. 8 *b*
תְּלֵיסַר רִבְוָותָא	130,000	Sanh. 26 *a*
שִׁיתִּין רִבְוָון	600,000	Ḥull. 7 *a*
תְּלָת מְאָה רִבְוָותָא	3,000,000	Pes. 62 *b*
אֲלַף אַלְפֵי רִבּוֹא	10,000,000,000	Sanh. 39 *a*

[1] The ן here may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural; but may also represent ־ָ־; *cf.* § 70.

[2] Later forms are: הֲדָא *Hal. Ged.* 206 (*bis*); תַּרְתָּן *ibid.* 399; תְּלָתֵי *three, Mach. Vitry* 119; חֲדֵיסַר *Še'ēlt.* 109; חֲדֵי סְרֵי *ibid.* 116; חַד סַר *Ša'arê Tešûbâ*, § 172; תְּלֵי סְרֵי *ibid.*; חֲמֵסַר *ibid.* 46; שְׁתְּסַר *ibid.*; שְׁתֵּי סַר *Hal. Ged.* 425, 595; שִׁתָּא עֲשַׂר *Hal. Pes.* § 39; שְׁבֵיסַר *ibid.* 146 (*bis*); תְּמָנֵי עַשְׂרֵי *ibid.* 255; תְּשַׂסַר *Mach. Vitry* 4; חַמְשֵׁי *fifty*, *H. G.* 452 (*bis*).

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§ 141. The following examples show the influence of the Latin: שְׁתִּין נְכֵי חֲדָא *59*, Nidd. 30 *a;* שַׁבְעִין נְכֵי חֲדָא *69*, Er. 83 *a;* תְּמָנִין נְכֵי תַּרְתֵּין *78*, Ar. 13 *a;* תְּמָנָן נְכֵי תַּרְתֵּי M. MS., Zeb. 118 *b; cf.* later Hebrew אַרְבָּעִים חָסֵר אַחַת *39.*

§ 142. Through interchange of ל and ר, תְּלֵיסַר and תְּרֵיסַר are used interchangeably for *12* and *13*, and it is frequently impossible to know which number is meant. *Cf.* the various readings to B. M. 24 *b*, 46 *a*, 85 *a*, 86 *a;* B. B. 12 *a*, 77 *b*, 150 *b;* Sanh. 26 *a;* B. Q. 112 *b;* Ber. 4 *a*, 8 *a;* M. Q. 10 *b*, 24 *a*, 26 *a;* Bêçâ 23 *a;* Yômâ 87 *b;* Taan. 18 *b* (*bis*), 25 *a;* Ḥag. 4 *a;* H. G. 352; a. e. A similar interchange is found in Neo-Syriac (Nöldeke, *N.-S. Gr.*, pp. 53, 153).

§ 143. A number denoting more than one may be considered as a unit, in which case the number so considered is preceded by the substantive בֵּי *house, family, body. E. g.*, בֵּי תְּרֵי, בֵּי תְּלָתָא *a body of two, three; two, three.*

REFERENCES: בֵּי תְּרֵי frequent; בֵּיתְרֵי Col. MSS.; בֵּי תְּרֵין *two*, Sanh. 95 *a;* בֵּי תְּלָתָא *three*, Sanh. 8 *a;* בֵּי אַרְבְּעָה *four*, Šebu. 42 *a;* בֵּי חַמְשָׁה *five*, Yeb. 101 *b;* בֵּי עַשְׂרָה *ten*, Er. 30 *a*, Sôtâ 38 *b;* בֵּי עַשְׂרִין וּתְלָתָא *twenty-three*, Sanh. 8 *a;* בֵּי מְאָה *a hundred*, Ber. 50 *a*, Yeb. 88 *a.*[1]

§ 144. תְּרֵי *two* takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to תַּרְוְ.[2] Thus, תַּרְוַיְנַן *we both*, Šebu. 37 *b;* תַּרְוַיְכוּ *you both*, B. Q. 60 *b;* תַּרְוַיְהוֹן *they both*, Keth. 83 *b;* תַּרְוַיְהוּ Ḥull. 45 *b;* תַּרְוַיְהִי Col. MS., M. Q. 31 *a.*[3]

§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (*op. cit.* § 63), that the compound numbers in סְרֵי are of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in סַר, if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.

§ 146. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other

[1] In later literature: בְּתְרֵי *HG.* 364, 489; בֵּיתְלָתָא *ibid.* 62, 65; בִּתְלָתָא *ibid.* 489, 490; בְּאַרְבְּעָה, בֵּיאַרְבְּעָה *ibid.* 501.

[2] *Cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 4.

[3] In later literature: תַּרְוַיְהִי *HG.* 282; תְּלָתַיְהוֹן, תְּלָתַיְהוּ *they three*, *ibid.* 61; אַרְבְּעַתַּיְהוּ *they four*, *ibid.* 398. For the דגש in these forms, *cf.* Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 49, and Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, § 65, 1, n. 1.

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languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. 56 *b*, the name Cappadocia is explained כַּפָּא כְּשׁוּרָא דֵּיקָא עֲשָׂרָה. "Kappa" means *beam*, "dika" means *ten* (δέκα). Er. 18 *a* דְּיוֹ (δύο) *two, twice*. Naz. 8 *b* סוּמְכוֹס אוֹמֵר הֵן אֶחָת דִּיגוֹן שְׁתַּיִם טְרִיגוֹן שָׁלֹשׁ טֶטְרָגוֹן אַרְבַּע פּוּנְטִיגוֹן חָמֵשׁ *Symmachos says:* ἓν *means one,* δίγονος *two,* τρίγωνος *three,* τετραγώνιον *four,* πεντάγωνος *five* (fold). B. B. 164 *b* הֵינָא, ἕνα, *one*. M. Q. 28 *a* 'Ên Ya'akōb ed. princ. אֵינָא id. 'Ar. Sanh. 89 *a* the Persian numeral هزار *1000*, occurs in the Persian phrase כַּאר הֶזָר גּוּנָא *an ass of a thousand colors*.

B. Ordinals.—§ 147. Sing. masc. קַמָּא, קַמָּאָה, קַדְמָאָה (Ned. 40 *a*, 51 *a*); fem. קַמַּיְיתָא, קַדְמָיְיתָא; plur. masc. קַמָּאֵי, fem. קַמַּיְיתָא, קַדְמַיְיתָא *first*.

§ 148. Sing. masc. תִּנְיָין, תִּנְיָינָא (Ned. 21 *a*, 63 *a*), תִּנְיָינְתָא ('Ar. Gitt. 6 *a*), *second;* תְּלִיתָאֵי, תְּלִיתָאָה *third;* רְבִיעָאָה *fourth;* שְׁבִיעָאָה *seventh*, Nidd. 67 *b;* עֲשִׂירָאָה *tenth*. Plur. fem. רְבִיעָיְיתָה *fourth*.[1]

§ 149. The expression קַמָּא קַמָּא (Gitt. 12 *b*, B. B. 97 *a*, Pes. 7 *a*) corresponds to the later Hebrew רִאשׁוֹן רִאשׁוֹן, meaning *by and by, by degrees, gradually, successively*. Plur. masc. קַמָּאֵי קַמָּאֵי, Pes. 7 *a*.[2]

§ 150. Sabb. 31 *b*, 88 *a*, Ar. 13 *a*, תְּלִיתָאֵי is used in the sense of *triple*.

§ 151. *a*. Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives:—Sing. masc. אַחֲרִינָא *another;* אוּחֲרִינָא, Col. MS. Pes.; אוּחֲרָנָא *TF.*, p. 11; fem. אַחֲרִיתָא, אַחֲרִיתִי, אַחֲרִינְתָא (R. H. 18 *b*), אַחֲרָנִיתָא, אַחֲרִינָיְיתָא (Yeb. 64 *b*) אוּחֲרִיתִי (Col. MS. Pes.), אוּחֲרִי (Qid. 47 *a*, B. M. 15 *a*, a. e.).—Plur. masc. אַחֲרִינֵי, אוּחֲרִינֵי (Col. MS. Pes.) אַחֲרָנֵי, *TF.*, p. 12, אוּחֲרָנֵי, *ibid.* 17; fem. אַחֲרָנְיָיתָא (Ned. 20 *b*, 22 *a*).

b. Sing. masc. בַּתְרָאָה, בָּתְרָאֵי; fem. בַּתְרַיְיתָא, בָּתְרֵיתָא; plur. masc. בָּתְרָאֵי; fem. בַּתְרַיְיתָא *the last, the latter*.—תְּרֵי כְּסֵי בָּתְרָאֵי

[1] In later literature: Sing. fem. תִּנְיֵיתָא, *HG.* 250; תִּנְיָיתָא, *MV.* 101; תְּלִיתֵיתָא *HG.* 250; רְבִיעָיְיתָא, רְבִיעָתָא *MV.* 101; חֲמִשֵׁיתָא *HG.* 379; עֲשִׂירֵיתָא *ibid.*—Masc. הֲמִישָׁאָה *ibid.* 618; שְׁתִיתָאָה *ibid.*; תְּמִינָאָה *ibid.*; תְּמִינָאָה *ibid*, 620. The *ninth* must have been תְּשִׁיעָאָה*, תְּשִׁיעֵיתָא*.

[2] *Cf.* Luzzatto, *op. cit.*, § 64, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

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the last two cups, Pes. 108 *b;* לְבָתְרַאי דְאָתוֹ בָתְרָךְ *to my successors* (descendants) *who are to come after thee*, A. Z. 10 *b*.

C. Fractional Numbers.—§ 152. Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations, partly by various constructions of the cardinals. The separate formations are: פַּלְגָא, פַּלְגוּ, פַּלְגֵי (B. M. 77 *a*) $\frac{1}{2}$; תּוּלְתָא, תִּילְתָא, תַּלְתָאי (Sabb. 87 *a*, ed. Sonc.) $\frac{1}{3}$; רִיבְעָא $\frac{1}{4}$; חוּמְשָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$; שְׁתוּתָא, שְׁתִיתָא $\frac{1}{6}$.

§ 153. תְּלָתָא חוּמְשֵׁי $\frac{3}{5}$, Sukk. 32 *b;* תְּלָתָא פַלְגֵי $\frac{3}{2}$, Sabb. 34 *b;* תְּלָתָא רִיבְעֵי $\frac{3}{4}$ *ibid.;* תְּלָתָא תִלְתֵּי $\frac{3}{3}$, תְּרֵי תִלְתֵּי $\frac{2}{3}$, *ibid.* 35 *a;* חוּמְשִׁין *fifths*, Tem. 27 *a;* פַּלְגֵּיהוֹן *the half of them*, B. B. 8 *a*.[1]

§ 154. In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word ܬܠܝܬܝܐ, the second ܬ being spirantic when it means *three years old*.[2] The same distinction may have obtained in our idiom; we should, therefore, have to read תלתא in the expression עֶגְלָא תִילְתָּא with the second ת spirantic.

§ 155. The forms שְׁתִיתָא, שְׁתוּתָא come *per metathesin* from שִׁיתְתָא, שׁוּתְתָא, formations like תִּילְתָא, תּוּלְתָא. They were transposed to avoid their interchange with שִׁיתָא *six*, and שׁוּתָא *web, network*, forms to which, in accordance with the genius of the language, they must have been ultimately reduced. It must be added that שְׁתוּתָא, שְׁתִיתָא are as little ordinals as the other forms given in this paragraph, and the assertion of the dictionaries to the contrary must be corrected.

D. Other Denumerative Nouns.—§ 156. יְחִידָאָה, plur. יְחִידָאֵי *single, unique;* רְבִיעָאָה *quart* (of a לוֹג), Er. 64 *a*, a. e., fem. רְבִיעָתָא, plur. fem. רְבִיעָיָתָא, רְבִיעָאתָא, Col. MS., Pes. 109 *b;* רְבוּעָא *a square;* רִיבְעָא name of a small Persian weight—Gitt. 22 *a;* חוּמְשָׁא, plur. חוּמְשִׁין *one of the five books of the Pentateuch or of the Psalms;* later *the Pentateuch;* חוּמְשָׁיָיתָא *fifths, pentads;* תּוֹמָן, תּוֹמִינְתָא, תִּימְנְתָא, תְּמָנְיָיתָא, תְּמַנְתָא, תּוֹמָנִיתָא, *thōmān*, a measure containing the eighth part of a קַב; plur. תּוֹמְנְיָיתָא; עִשּׂוּרָא *the giving of tithes*; plur. עִשּׂוּרְיָיתָא *tithes, decades*. Here belongs also the pronoun הֲדָדֵי *one another*, a contraction of חֲדָא חֲדָא, with the plur. masc. ending,[3] and מָאתָא, מָתָא, *city*, from מְאָה *hundred;* properly *a hundred tents* or *houses*.[4]

[1] In later literature: תַּרְתָּא $\frac{1}{2}$, *HG.* 127; חוּמְשָׁה $\frac{1}{5}$. *ibid.* 487.

[2] Noeldeke, *SG.*, p. 89.

[3] הֲדָדָן *one another* (fem.), *HG.*, ed. princ. 82 *b*.

[4] *Cf.* Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

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ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

Adverbs of Place.—§ 157. בֵּינֵי בֵּינֵי *among others.*—בַּר, בָּרָאִי, אַבְרָאִי (§ 91), מִלְּבַר, מִבָּרָאִי, מֵאַבְרָאִי, *outside, from outside.*—בַּבֵי הֲדָדֵי, כִּי הֲדָדֵי, *together.*—אַגַּבָּא דְ־ *on top of.*—גַּאו, גַּו, גֵּיו, גַּוָּא, גַּוָּאִי, אַגְוָאִי (§ 91) *inside, amid.*—מִלְּגַו *inclusive*, opposed to מִלְּבַר *exclusive.*—בְּגַוֵּיהּ *therein.*—הָא, הָכָא[1] הָכִי (Col. MS., Meg. 9 *b*) *here, in the case before us.*—הֵיכָא, הֵיכִי (Ar. 30 *a*), הֵי (Col. MS., Zeb. 111 *b*) *where;* מֵהֵי, מֵהֵיכָא, *whence;* לְהֵיכָא *whither;* אַהֵיכָא *whereupon.* כָּל הֵיכָא דְ־, כָּל אֵיכָא דְ־ (Col. MS., Pes. 96 *a*) *wherever, in all cases where.*—בַּחֲרֵיק *instead.*—הָתָם *there, in that case.* תַּם, תַּמָּן *there.*—לְעֵיל, לְעֵילָּא, מִלְּעֵיל, מֵעֵילָּאִי, *above, upward, on top, supra.*—לְקַמָּן *beneath, below, ahead, further, infra.*—מִלְּרַע (Sabb. 92 *a*), מִלְּתַחַת (Bekh. 8 *b*), לְתוֹתָא (M. MS., Bêçā 15 *a*), לְתַתָּא (B. B. 45 *a*), לְתַחְתָּאָה (B. Q. 23 *b*), מִתַּתָּאִי *beneath, underneath, down, below* (§§ 82, 158).[2]

§ 158. With the forms in ־אִי, ־אָה, some such word as צִדָּא is to be understood. On לְעֵילָּא, לְתַחְתָּא, see above, § 82. The א in אַבְרָאִי, אַגְוָאִי is prothetic. הָתָם, הָכָא are compounds of הָא and תַּם, Hebr. שָׁם, and כָּא, Hebr. כֹּה, respectively. In תַּמָּן and לְקַמָּן (=לְ+קדם+ן) we have the demonstrative element ־ָן. The reading of the latter לְקַמָּן and not with Levy לְקָמָּן is warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In אַגַּבָּא we have a compound of אַ(=עַל) and גַּבָּא; הֵיכָא, אֵיכָא consist of כָּא and הֵי, אֵי respectively. In מִתַּתָּאִי (=מִן+תַּחְתָּאָה) and לְתוֹתָא (לְ+תְּחוֹתָא) we have syncope of ח.

Adverbs of Time.—§ 159. אַדְּ־ Col. MS. אַדְ־, אִידְ־, *while, when, when not yet.*—אַדְּהָכִי, אַדְּהָכִי וְהָכִי (Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a* vocalizes אִדְהָכִי וְהָכִי), *meanwhile, in the meantime.* הָאִידָּנָא, הָאִידְנָא (=הָא+עִדָּנָא), *now, this time, nowadays.* אֵימַת (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *a* vocalizes אֵימַת), *when.*—כָּל אֵימַת *whenever, as long as, as often as.*—אַכַּתִּי, אַכַּתִּי, אִיכַּתִּי (Col. MS.) *still, yet, even now.*—מִן לְאַלְתַּר, מֵאַלְתַּר (Ned. 4 *b*, Rašî, *ibid.*, has מִן אַלְתַּר), לְאַלְתַּר־

[1] On the various constructions of הָכָא, see Zunz, *Das Adverbium* כָּאן, *ZDMG.* XXIV., pp. 591–598, reprinted in Vol. III. of his *Ges. Schriften.*

[2] הֵיכָא *here, HG.* 477 (*bis*); אֵיכָא *where, ibid.* 63, 69, a. e.; לְתַחְתָּא, *ibid.* 315.

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(Ned. 27 *b*) *on the spot, at once.*[1]—אֶשְׁתָּקַד (= שַׁתָּא קַדְמַיְתָא + prothetic א) *last year.*—לְבָתַר, לְאַחַר, *after, later on.*—בֵּינֵי בֵינֵי *in the meanwhile.*—דְּאִיעֲבַד, דְּיִעֲבַד, דְּיַאֲבָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 32 *a*, with apocope of ד and change of ע to א), lit. *when it was done, ex post facto.*—הָא *already, since.*—הַשְׁתָּא *now, at present.*—דִּזְמְנִין *sometimes.*—אִיתְמַל *yesterday.*—לְיוֹמְחְרָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 84 *a*), לְיוֹמָא חְרָא (B. M. 17 *a*), לְיוֹמָא אוֹחֲרָא (*ibid.* H. MS.), לְיוֹמְאחֲרָא (*ibid.* ed. Ven.), לְיוֹמָא אַחֲרִינָא (*ibid.* F. MS.), *after-to-morrow.*—כַּד, כִּי, *when.*—כַּדּוּ *now; when he.*—מִכִּי *since, as soon as.*—כַּמָּה דְּ־ (Yômâ 13 *a*, Sabb. 119 *a*), כָּל כַּמָּה דְּ־, כּוּל כַּמָּה דְּ־ (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *a*) *until, as long as.*—לְמָחָר *to-morrow.*—לַעֲגַל, בַּעֲגַל, *soon.*—עַד דְּ־, בַּהֲדֵי דְּ־ *during, while, meanwhile, before, when not yet.*—לְעָלָם (Gitt. 85 *b*, legal style) *forever.*—מֵעִיקָּרָא *at first, from the start.*—מִקַּדְמַת דְּנָא, מִן קַדְמַת דְּנָא (legal style), *formerly.*—בְּרֵישָׁא *at first, at the beginning.*—מֵרֵישׁ *at first, heretofore.*—תּוּ, תּוּב *again, anew, moreover, yet more, further, besides.*[2]

Adverbs of Manner.—§ 160. אִיבְרָא *verily, indeed.*—אַדְּרַבָּה [= אַ' (= עַל) + דְּ + רַבָּה] (turn to *the stronger* side. I rest my argument *upon what is superior;* on the other side *is a stronger* claim) *on the contrary.*—אַגַּב אוֹרְחָא *by the way, apropos.*—אַגַּב גְּרָרָא *incidentally, occasionally.*—אוּתִּיּוֹס, אֶוְתִּיאוֹס (εὐθέως) *quickly, rapidly, soon.*—דְּאִי *in case when.*—בַּאֲלַכְסוֹנָא *crosswise.* בּוּנְדְּלִית *bustrophedon;* בְּהֶדְיָא, לְהֶדְיָא *openly, explicitly.*—הֲדַר *again,* הָכִי, הָכֵין (*TF.* 2, 14 *a* and frequently), הָכָא (Col. MS., Pes. 110 *a*), *so, thus.*—דַּוְקָא *expressly, distinctly, only.*—חֲדָאי (Ber. 5 *b*) *certainly, surely, rightly, with good reason.*—[יָאלֵי, וְאָלֵי, *proper*].—[טָבִית, יָאוּת], מוּטָב, *well.*—כְּדִי *for nought, in vain, for no purpose.*[3]—לְחוּד, לְחוּדָאי (B. Q. 38 *a*), בְּאַנְפֵּי נַפְשָׁא, בְּאַפֵּי נַפְשָׁא, *separately, alone, for oneself.*—לְכַאוֹרָה *at first sight, apparently.*—כְּלַפֵּי לַיָּא, כְּלַפֵּי לַיָּה, כְּלַפֵּי אֲלַיָּא, כְּלַפֵּי לַיָּא, כְּלַפִּילַיָּא

[1] The statement of the dictionaries that אֶלְתַּר occurs only with ל is to be corrected accordingly.

[2] In later literature: הַדְהָכֵי וְהָכֵי, *HG.* 100; קָל הֵיכִי (= כל אימת), *ibid.* 164; אַקְּתֵי, *ibid.* 456; לְדִבְבָתַר, *ibid.* 63; כְּעַן (legal style) *ibid.* 315; דְּיַאֲבָא, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 181.

[3] According to some כְּדִי is a shortened form of כְּדִיב; according to Luzzatto (פנינר שד״ל, p. 305 *sq.*) it is a contraction of כְּ + דְּ + הִיא *as it is.*

(MSS. K., M., Zeb. 82 *a*) *just the reverse.*—מַגָּן *gratis.*— מִמֵּילָא, Col. MS., Pes. (voc.), מִמֵּילָא (§§ 77, 90) *of itself.*— הָנִיחָא, תֵּינַח, בִּשְׁלָמָא, דִּשְׁלָמָא (Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*), *granted it is right, it would be right.*—סְחוֹר *round about.*—מִסְתַּמָא (§ 23) *presumably, probably, I dare say.*—בְּעָלְמָא *plainly, simply, merely, only.*—אַפַּרְקִיד *supinely.*—קָא, קָאֵי, קָ, a particle used generally with the participle to form the present (§ 66).— שַׁפִּיר *well.*[1]

§ 161. הָנִיחָא is formed of הָא *this*, and of the passive participle of נוח; תֵּינַח, of תְּהֵי *let it be*, and the active participle of said verb; it occurs also in the form הָתֵינַח. The above and בִּשְׁלָמָא are synonymous. The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority (*e. g.* of Scripture) as compared with that indicated by the use of the former. Note the expression בַּר הָכִי *such a one, such a fellow.*

Adverbs of Quantity.—§ 162. אִינְבַּד (Gittin, 58 *a*) according to Raši, *ad. loc.*=בְּצִיר *a little.*—טָב, טוּבָא *a good deal, much.*— לִגְמְרֵי *entirely.*—טְפֵי, טְפֵיא, סְרִיח, *more.*—יַתִּיר, בְּיַתִּירְתָא *more, greatly.*—כּוּלֵּי הַאי, כָּל הָכִי (lit. *all this*) *so much!*—כָּל כַּמָּה דְ, כָּל כַּמַּאי דְ (Col. MS., M. Q. 6 *a*), *as much as.*—כַּמָּה *how much, how many!* . . . . טְפֵי . . . . כַּמָּה ד *the more* . . . . *the more:* R. H. 26 *b*, כַּמָּה דְכַיֵּיף אִינִישׁ דַעְתֵּיהּ טְפֵי מְעַלֵּי *the more one bends his mind the better it is.*—כָּל דְּהוּ *the least possible quantity, whatsoever.*—כַּמָּה דְאֶפְשָׁר *as much as possible.*—פּוּרְתָּא *a little, a trifle.*—קַלִּיל, קַלֵּי *a little.*—רְבָא *much, very much.*

Interrogative Adverbs.—§ 163. אֵימַת, אֵימַת (Col. MS.) *when?*—אִינֵי *is it really so?*—אַהַיָּיא *to which does this refer?*— לְאֵי *for what purpose?*—לְאֵיהָא, (לְאֵי+הָא) *whither?* (*TF.*, p. 26).—הֵיכָא,[2] הֵי (Col. MS.), *where?*—לְהֵיכָא *whither?*— מֵהֵיכָא, מֵהֵי, מִנָּאן, מִנָּן, מְנָא *whence?*—הֵיכִי, הֵי כִּי (MS., Vat. 117, B. M. 67 *b*), הֵיכָן, *how?*—אַטּוּ, מִידֵי,[3] מִכְּדֵי, (in questions expressing surprise or indignation) *do you mean to say? is it because? how!? what!?*—אִי (Ned. 3 *a*), מִי, וּמִי, וְכִי, *num?* מִי לָא *nonne?*—לָמָּה, לְמָא, אַלְמָה, אַמַּאי, *why, wherefore?*—

[1] In later literature: בְּרַם *verily, indeed*, Še'ōl. 1; הָכֵין *thus, so*, *HG.* 86, 103; בְּחוּד, *HG.* 29; לְחֻדָא *separately*, *MV.* 32; כַּחֲדָא *together*, *ibid.*; זוֹד *more*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, *passim*; *cf.* for the latter Noeldeke, *NSG.* 159. לְאוּקָא (= לְאוּר קָא) *HG.* 408.

[2] אֵיכָא, *HG.* 63, 69.

[3] *Cf.* Stübe, *Jüd. babyl. Zaubertexte*, p. 56.

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לאי, לאיי, ליי, a particle of doubtful character. See Kohut, *Aruch. Compl.* s. v.

§ 164. On the punctuation of מְנָא see above (§ 90). It is the apocopated form of מְנָאן, which latter is a compound of מן + אָן. It is joined to the following word, forming a compound. Thus, מְנָלַן *whence have we this?* מְנָלֵיהּ (Zeb. 8 *b*, Naz. 48 *b*, a. e.) *whence has he this?* מְנָהְנֵי מִילֵּי, מְנָהְנֵימִילֵּי (Col. MSS.) *whence have you these things?*

§ 165. כִּי and מִי are generally preceded by a ו. The former introduces nominal sentences, the latter verbal. מִי, or וּמִי, usually stands immediately before the verb. If the verb be preceded by a negative, מִי is often inserted between the negative and the verb.[1] לָא מִי (Sabb. 68 *b*), לַאו מִי (Pes. 102 *a;* M. MS., Er. 20 *b;* Sabb. 32 *a;* B. M. 32 *a*, a. e.).

§ 166. Note the following idiomatic expression: .... מַאי לַאו .... לָא *couldn't we understand by it rather this? .... No! it is rather.*—אֵימַת, הֵיכָא, הֵיכִי, and הֵי, are used also as relative adverbs. Some of the adverbs given here have at times the force of interrogative conjunctions and should more properly be called interrogative particles.

Affirmative Adverbs.—§ 167. אִית, אִיתָא,[2] אִיכָּא (= אִית+כָּא) *there is;* אִין, אִין (so Col. MSS.) *yes*, (= Hebrew הֵן). In one instance אִית takes verbal form: אִיתוּ אֲנַן *we are,* Pes. 50 *a*. *Cf.* II. Targûm to Esther 2, 18 אִיתָיוּ *they are.*

Negative Adverbs.—§ 168. לֵית (= לָא + אִית), לֵיתָא, *there is not, is not;* לֵיכָּא (= לֵית+כָּא) id.; לָא, לַאו (לָא + הוּא) *is not, not, no.* לָא is generally used with verbs, לַאו with nouns.

Adverbs of Doubt.—§ 169. דִּילְמָא, דִּילְמָא (דִּי + לְ + מָא *cf.* Hebrew שֶׁלָּמָּה, later שֶׁמָּא) *perhaps;* אֶפְשַׁר, Col. MS., vocal. אִפְשַׁר *perhaps, it may be, possibly.*

PREPOSITIONS.

A. Inseparable Prepositions.—§ 170. אַ is an abbreviation of אַל = עַל and is used in all the significations and constructions of the latter. It is used also before gutturals: Men. 34 *a*, אַאַבְנָא, Keth. 40 *b*, a. e. אַהָא.—Notice the force of the preposition after

[1] The verb in this case includes the participle, but not the infinitive.

[2] In אִיתָא, לֵיתָא the ending may be = הוּא, but *cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 213.

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הֲוָה *to become, happen, befall,* in the standing phrase מִידֵי דַהֲוָה אַ־, lit. *something that happened with ...., this is something like ....* The expression is used to introduce an analogical case as an illustration to a previous statement of opinion on some legal point under discussion.

§ 171. בְּ־, בִּ־, בֵּי־, בַּ־, בָּ־, is used as in the Targumîm and Hebrew. A few examples of some rare usages may be mentioned. רֵישׁ מְעַיָּא בְּאַמְּתָא בָּעֵי גְרִירָה *the top of the small intestines must be scraped up to a cubit's length,* Ḥull, 93 *a;* רַב בְּכַהֲנֵי קְרָא *Rabh read as a priest,* Meg. 22 *a, i. e.,* was called up the first to read the weekly lesson from the Pentateuch. וְאִינְהוּ בְּשַׁפִּירֵי שַׁפִּירֵי בְּנֵי מְחוֹזָא *and yet these are the most beautiful of the people of Māḥôzâ,* R. H. 17 *a.* וּנְפַל בִּתְרֵין *and he dropped torn in two.* בִּתְלָתָא, בַּעֲשָׂרָא, *in the presence of three, of ten,* Ber. 56 *b,* fr. *Cf.* also below (§ 174). The ב is found in the Talmud also in a separate form "בֵּי."

§ 172. כְּ, כִּ, כַּ, *like.*—לְ, לִ, לַ, *to, unto;* generally *nota accusativi.*—מִ־, מֵ, *from.*

§ 173. To the Palestinean R. Jôḥānān we owe the single example of the use of ל with oaths as a particle of asseveration, as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian.[1]

Separate Prepositions.—§ 174. אַבֵּי (§ 28) *upon, on.* אַבֵּי כּוּרְסְיָא *upon a chair;* אַבֵּי יְדַיְיהוּ *upon their hands,* Sanh. 17 *a.*[2]

אַבָּתַר (= בָּתַר + אַל), *cf.* בָּתַר.

אַגַּב (= גַּב + אַל) *on, upon; by dint of, by the way of, on account of.*

אֲחוֹרֵי *behind, backward.*

אַטּוּ *on account of, for the sake of.* The word is connected with Fellîḥî-Syriac ܛܘܼܡ, ܛܘܼܡܬܢ, ܛܘܼܡܬܗܘܢ, ܛܘܼܡܗ, and ܛܘܟܣܐ of other Syriac dialects.[3]

[1] Yômâ 84 *a*, A. Z. 28 *a*, we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R. Jôḥānān the formula of a medicine, unless he swore not to disclose it to others. He agreed to it and swore: לֵאלָהָא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל לָא מְגַלֵּינָא *by the God of Israel, I shall not disclose it!* He then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college. When asked how he could break his oath, he answered: "I said 'To THE GOD of Israel I shall not disclose it;' but not TO THE PEOPLE of Israel." He thus explained the ל casuistically as a mere *nota dativi.*

[2] אַבֵּי in אַבֵּי חֲדַיְיהוּ *upon their bosom,* Sanh. 17 *a* is a compound of אַל *upon* and בֵּי = בֵּית. In later literature: כִּי הֲוֵינַן אַבֵּי מָר *when we were at our lord's* (at thy house) Še'êl. 77.

[3] *Cf.* Sachau, *Skizze des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul,* p. 32, 37, 39. Maclean, *op. cit.* 187.

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אִידֵי, אִידֵי, אִידָא (A. Z. 15 *a;* Col. MS., Zeb. 35 *b*), *by means of, through, by the way of.* *Cf.* Hebrew עַל יַד.

אַמְטוּל, (אַמְטוּ, אַמְטֵי), אַמְטוּלְתָא, אַמְטוּלְתָּא, *for the sake of, on account of.* The word is of doubtful etymology. The original form was evidently אַמְטוּל, a compound of עַל + מִן + טוּל, which former may mean *shade, protection, burden,* or *going, passing; cf.* the Hebrew בִּגְלַל, בַּעֲבוּר. In the expression אַמְטוּל הָכִי the final ל of אַמְטוּל is often attached to הָכִי and written אַמְטוּ לְהָכִי. (M. V. 6 has אַמְטֵי לְהָכִי).[1]

אַפֵּי, אַנְפֵּי, only with the prepositions ל and ב: לְאַפֵּי *toward, opposite;* בְּאַפֵּי *in the presence of, before.*

בְּדִיל *on account of.* Only Yômâ, 75 *b.*

בִּי *within, in, by,* etc., is the separate form of the preposition בְּ.[2] The traditional pronunciation of it as בֵּי is due to a confusion with בֵּי *between, house.*

בֵּי, בֵּין, בֵּינֵי, בֵּינַיָּא, בֵּינָתָא, בֵּנָתָא, *between, among.* Keth. 28 *a*, M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*, בֵּינָתַיְידהוּ; (H. G. 339 בֵּינָתָהוּ, בֵּנְתַיְידהוּ). Notice: בְּקָאֵרֵי, בְּבוּצִינֵי, Col. MS., Meg. 12 *ab* (voc.).

בְּלָא, בְּלָאו, *without.*

לְבַר מִן, לְבַר מִד, *except, save, besides.*

בָּתַר, בָּאתַר, לְבָתַר, *after, behind.*

גַּבֵּי, לְגַבֵּי, *near, at, to, with, in case of, toward.*

גַּו, גַּאו, גַּוָא, גֵּיו, גַּו, constr. st. גּוֹ, גּוֹא, generally with ל, ב and מ: לְגַו, לְגוֹ, *into, amidst;* בְּגוֹ *in, within, amongst, amidst;* מִגּוֹ *from, out.*

דּוּמְיָא ד *like, similar, analogous to.*

הֲדֵי, only with ב or ל: בַּהֲדֵי *with, by;* לַהֲדֵי *unto, to, toward.* The singular form occurs but seldom: לַהֲדָא, A. Z. 28 *b.*

חֲלַף *instead, in place of.*

יָת *nota accusativi.* This is very rare in the Babylonian Talmud. יָתֵיהּ *him,* Ned. 49 *a;* יָתָהּ *her, it,* eds. Ned. 50 *b;* יָתְכוֹן

1 *Cf.* פנינר שד״ל, p. 308 *sq.* But *cf.* אַמְטוּ הָכִי *TF.* 2. בְּגִין, *Respons. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens,* ed. Müller, § 122.

2 M. Lambert, *RÉJ.* XXII., 129–131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

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you, Ber. 38*a;* יָתַיְיכוּ Nidd. 61*a;* יָתְהוֹן *them*, Ned. 25*a*, 41*a*, B. M. 90*b*, a. e.[1]

כְּוָת *like;* כְּוָתִי דִידִי *like me*, Col. MS., M. Q. 2*b;* כְּוָת *like me*, *ibid.* Pes. 105*b* (§ 110); כְּוָתָן *like us*, B. B. 65*a*.

כִּי,[2] כַּד (= כ + ד) *like.* כִּי הַשְׁתָּא *now* (Sabb. 119*a*) = Hebr. כָּעֵת.—כַּד כַּלְבָּא *like that of a dog*, ed. Const. Sanh. 96*a*.

כְּגוֹן (= כ + גון) *like, similar to, for example.*

כְּלַפֵּי (= כְּ + לְ + אַפֵּי) *toward, in the direction of, with regard to.*

לְוָת *to, unto.* M. Q. 9*b*, לְוָתָךְ *to thee.* B. M. 62*b*, לְוָתִי *to me.* Very rare.

לְפוּם (Hebrew לְפִי) *according to.* Palestinean מֵחֲמַת *in consequence of, through.*

מִן, מִי (M. MS., Men. 65*a*), *from, out, of.*

מִשּׁוּם *because of, on account of.*

נִיהֲלָה *to, unto.*

עַד *until, till.* עַד דִּ־ *instead of.* Usually contracted to אַדִּ־.

עַל *on, upon.*

עַל יְדָא *through, by means of* (Ar. 16*b*).

עִילָּא, עִלָּא, *on, upon.*

עִלָּוֵי *on, upon*, Ḥull. 8*b*, Sabb. 156*b*, a. e. (§§ 41, 181).

לְעֵילָּא מִן *above, beyond, higher than, before* (Sabb. 30*a*, Rašî, a. e.).

עִם *with.* In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style; but it is found frequently in Še'ēl. and Hal. Ged.

לְקִיבְלָא, לָקֳבֵל, *opposite, against, before.* B. B. 111*a;* Tam. 32*a*. (Palestinean.)

מִן קֳדָם, לְקֳדָם, קֳדָם, *before.* Sabb. 30*b;* 67*a;* Gitt. 85*b*. (Palestinean.)

[1] In later literature the older form וָת has been preserved: וָתִיכִי *thee* (f.) *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 15. *Cf.* also Noeldeke, *SG.*, 199, note 1, and Lagarde, *Mittheil*, I., 226. I. H. Weiss (*Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Trad.*, II., 138, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses יָת as *nota accusativi* except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the use of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos—and, we may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found—who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the exercise of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every *nota accusativi* implies an inclusion of some additional case, identifying, of course, יָת with אֶת. The entire want of this particle in the Mandaic—an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influences—is the best proof of Mr. Weiss' supposition.

[2] Some scholars see the same use of כִּי also in Biblical Hebrew. *Cf.* Dubsewitz, *Ha-Bôker 'Ôr*, V. 265-272, and M. Lambert, *RÉJ.* XXII., 129-131.

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מִקַּמֵּי, לְקַמֵּי, קַמֵּי, קַמָּא, *before, in the presence of, for.* Ar. 31 *b*, מִקַּמָּא דִידָךְ *before thee.*[1] The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority.

תְּחוֹתֵי, תּוֹתֵי, *beneath, below, under; instead, in place of* (A. Z̈. 10 *a*).

§ 175. בֵּין ...... בֵּין means: *both this and that.* בֵּין לְמָר בֵּין לְמָר *according to the opinion of the one* as well as to *that of the other.*

§ 176. מִן is of rare use, and almost entirely limited to the pronominal suffixes, the apocopated form being used before nouns, Note the expressions מִינֵּיהּ מִינֵּיהּ *out of it, yea, of it, i. e.*, of the very thing.—מִינֵּיהּ וּבֵיהּ, the same.—לַאו כָּל כְּמִינֵּיהּ *he is not able.* The expression is probably originally an ironical question, *Is everything so as if coming from him, by his authority?*

§ 177. *a*) The preposition ל having become particularly identified with the accusative, the want was felt of a definite and distinct *nota dativi.* By adding to the ל a demonstrative of determinate distance, הָלָה, that want was supplied: the simple, worn-out ל now became לְהָלָה or לִיהָלָה. The concurrence of two ל's caused the first to dissimilate and become נ. We thus get נְהָלָה or נִיהָלָה.

b) The dictionaries derive our word from נִיהוּ+ל; but it must be evident that such a presumption is untenable, since the verbal force inherent in it is neither relevant nor apparent in the dative personal pronoun. Luzzatto's etymology of נִיהָ+ל is subject to the same objection: נִיהָ would evidently be akin to Ethiopic nāhū, Hebrew הִנֵּה, which has also verbal force and can govern only the accusative. Nöldeke connects it with the verb נהל *to lead* in Assyrian and Hebrew, and vocalizes נְהָלֵי with plural termination.

c) נְהָלָה is used as accusative in נִסְּיֵהּ נִיהֲלֵיהּ *try it*, A. Z. 15 *a*, and פָּרְקִינַן לָהּ נִיהֲלָהּ *we redeem her*, Gitt. 38 *a*.

d) נִיהָלָה and לְוָת are used only with reference to men.

§ 178. Traces of a separate form "לִי" are found in the scholastic term וְלִיטַעְמִיךְ *and according to the reason given by thee*, Ned. 37 *a* and frequently, and in לִידְהוּ, לִידְהִי, *to them*, Col. MS., Pes. 116 *b* and elsewhere.

[1] Še'ēl. מִקִּמַּיְיהוּ *from before them.* H. G. 100, לְקַמַּהּ *for her; ibid.* 387, קַמֵּי פַּלְגָּא *for a half.*

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PREPOSITIONS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.[1]

§ 179. A number of prepositions are generally used with suffixes; some of them even exclusively so. Of the inseparable prepositions only two, ב and ל, take pronominal suffixes.[1] Of the separate forms, אַבָּתַר, אֲחוֹרֵי, אַנְפֵּי, אַפֵּי, בֵּין, בָּתַר, גַּבֵּי, גַּו, הֲדֵי, יָת, כְּוָת, לְוָת, מִן, עַל, עִלָּא, עִלָּוֵי, עִם, קֳבֵל, קִיבְלָא, קֳדָם, קַמָּא, תּוּתֵי, תְּחוֹתֵי, are *generally* used with pronominal suffixes; אַמְטוּלְתָא, אַמְטוּלְתָּא, בֵּינָתָא, and נִיהֲלָה are found *only* with suffixes; the rest of the list are *never* found with suffixes.

§ 180. ב: בִּי, בָּךְ, בִּיךְ, בֵּיהּ, בְּהִי (Col. MS., M. Q. 18 *a*), בָּהּ, בַּן, בְּכוּ, בְּהוֹן, בְּהוּ, בְּהֶן, בְּהִי.—ל: לִי, לָךְ, לִיכִי (Keth. 52 *b*, Ned. 50 *b*, a. e., legal style), לֵיהּ, לְהוּ (R. H. 5 *a*, Sabb. 140 *b*), לְהִי (Col. MS., Pes. 90 *a*), לִידְהוּ, לִידְהִי (Col. MSS.), לָנָא (legal style), לָן, לְכוּ, לְהוֹן, לְהוּ.[2]—בֵּין: בֵּינִי, בֵּינַאי, בֵּינָךְ, בֵּינֵיהּ, בֵּינָהּ, בֵּינָן, בֵּינָנָא (legal style), בֵּינַיְכוּ, בֵּינַיְיהוּ.—מִן: מִינַּאי, מִין (§ 110), מִינָּךְ, מִינִּיךְ, מִינֵּיהּ, מִינָּהּ, מִינַּן, מִינָּנָא (legal style), מִינְּכוּ, מִינְּכוֹן, מִינְּהוֹן, מִינַּיְהוֹן, מִינְּהוּ, מִינַּיְהוּ, מִינַּיְהִי.

§ 181. עִלָּא is little used with prepositions: עִילָּוַיְיהוּ Qidd. 8 *b;* עִילּוֹהִי Ber. 56 *a;* עֲבֵיד מָרָנָא עִלֵּיהּ *search it, Sir!* Ned. 50 *a*.[3] Instead of עִלָּא we find usually עִלָּוֵי, which Col. MS., Pes. 93 *b*, writes and vocalizes אִלָּאוֵי. Notice also the by-form עִילָּוֵי O. MS., Sabb. 105 *b*, a. e.; עִילָּוֵיא *upon him*, B. B. 12 *b* (ֵיא־ = ֵיהּ־).

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 182. אֲבָל *but, however*, a Hebraism. אוֹ *or, if, whether.* אוֹ־אוֹ *either . . . or, whether . . . or.* אִי *if, whether* (§ 183). אִי אָמְרַתְּ בִּשְׁלָמָא . . . הַיְינוּ ד *I grant if you were to say . . . then it would be right.* אִי . . . אִי *either . . . or, whether . . . or.* אִי נַמִּי *or, even if.*

אִידֵי, אַיְידֵי, אִידָא, *since, as, because.*

אִידְהוּ (=אִי הֲוָה), used like אִיכּוּ or מִידְהוּ q. v.—M. MS. and ed. Pesaro, A. Z. 55 *a*.

אִיזוּ, אֵידִי, דִי (2 M. MS., Yôm. 30 *b*), *now, then, pray*, an exhortative and precative particle used with the imperative. For ז instead of ד *cf.* § 31.

[1] On the plural form of some prepositions *cf.* Lagarde, *Mittheil.*, I., 231 *sq.*
[2] לון, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 535.
[3] *Cf.* the German expression: sich über Etwas hermachen.

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אִיךְ, a particle introducing direct speech = Hebr. כִּי; found only in legal style.

אִיכּוּ, אִי כּוּ (H. MS., B. M. 73 *b*), אִיכָּא (Sabb. 152 *b*), אִיכָּה (Yômâ 57 *a*, Yalq. MS.) is a compound of אִין *if* and כּוּ, כָּא *here, now*, q. u., and is etymologically identical with Ethiopic 'enka. Generally used in the phrase אִיכּוּ הַשְׁתָּא *if now! oh that!* with the protasis or apodosis sometimes unexpressed.

אִילָּא,[2] אֶלָּא, אִילּוּ, אִלּוּ (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *a*) *if not, but, except, only.* Compare Latin *nisi*, Italian *se non*, לָא . . . אֶלָּא *only; cf.* the French *ne . . . que.*

אִילּוּ *if*, a Hebraism.

אַלְמָא,[3] אִילְמָא (Col. MSS.), *consequently.*

אִלְמָלֵא, אִלְמָלֵי,[4] *if in any way not, if not, but for, if indeed*

אַף *also;* generally אַף . . . נַמִּי *also, even.* מָא . . . אַף . . . נַמִּי *as . . . so.*[5]

אֲפִילּוּ, אֲפִלּוּ *even if, even*, a Hebraism.

אַף עַל גַּב ד *notwithstanding, although, though.*

אַף עַל פִּי כֵן *nevertheless*, a Hebraism.

ד or ל (§ 31) *so that, that, in order that; for, since.*

דְּהָא *for, because.*

דִּלְמָא *lest, perhaps.*

הָא *then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but.* Often וְהָא,

הוֹאִיל וְ *since, because*, a Hebraism.

הִילְכָּךְ, הִלְכָּךְ, הוּלְכָּךְ (Col. MSS.) *therefore* (= הִיא + לְ + כָךְ, הָא, or הוּא).

הָכִי הַשְׁתָּא *is that so now? well!*

הַשְׁתָּא *since, when, if,* הַשְׁתָּא כִּי, see כּוּ and אִיכּוּ.

וְ *and, but.* Often introducing a question: *but, is it indeed so?*

[1] זִיךְ *HG.* 187, זִיךְ *ibid.* 104, 183.—אִיכּוּ, akin to אִיזוּ, אֵיזִי, and the Hebrew אֵיפוֹא, in הֵיכָא אִיכּוּ אֶעֱבִיד *how, now, shall I act? HG.* 410. This may, however, be identical with אִיכּוּ, both meanings being possible with the latter form, as Ethiopic 'enka and our כּוּ show.

[2] אִי לָא, *HG.* 406; אִלָּא *or not* (= לָא + אוֹ) *HG.* 456. On the change of *o* to *e cf.* Haupt, *AEV.*, 22.

[3] For its etymology see Jastrow's *Diction.* s. v.

[4] On this word see R. Duval, *RÉJ.* IV., 268–273; M. Lambert, *ibid.* IX., 290–301; M. Jastrow, *ibid.* XI., 157–158; Halévy, מחברת, p. כא.

[5] In later literature we find the Persian הַם used for אַף in the phrase הַם הָכִי, *cf.* *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, Index, s. v., and *Letter of Sam. ha-Nāgid* אוצר טוב II. 68, הסהכי, read: הם הכי. The word is also found in Neo-Syriac; *cf.* Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 38, Maclean, *op. cit.*, 161.

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There are also traces of the ו consecutive. *Cf., e. g.,* וְאִיפְּטוּר *and let her be freed,* Yeb. 19 *a*.

כ is used in peculiar way with סָבוּר *is of opinion,* כְּסָבוּרִי, כְּסָבוּר, without having any apparent force.[1]

כַּד *when,* (= כ + ד).

כּוּ, כִּי, כֵּן, a postpositive particle having the force of אֵיפוּ and of אֵיכוּ. M. MS., Sabb. 4 *a* וְלָא אִידְּכַר לְמַאן כּוּ הִתִּירוּ *and he did not recollect whom they had allowed.* Qidd. 48 *a* בְּמַאי בוּ, read: בְּמַאי כּוּ *wherewith then,* etc.? Id. M. MS., Taan. 7 *b*, H. MS., B. M. 67 *b*. MS. Vat 117, B. M. 67 *b* הֵי כּוּ *how then?* M. MS., R. R. 29 *a* מַאן כּוּ *who then?* B. B. 10 *a* הַשְׁתָּא כֵּן, *ibid.* M. MS. הַשְׁתָּא כִּי, *ibid.* H. and R. MSS. הַשְׁתָּא כִּי. B. B. 111 *a* הַשְׁתָּא כִּי; M. Q. 26 *a*, eds. id. and frequent in MSS. *Cf.* Ethiopic ka, kē.[2]

כִּי (shortened from כְּדִי, or ... כַּד) *if, when.* B. Q. 84 *b*, a. e.

כִּי לָא לָא *if not, not.*

כִּי הֵיכִי דְ־, כִּי הֵיכֵן (*TF.* 6) *so that, in order that.*—כִּי הֵיכִי דְלָא *lest.*[3]

כֵּיוָן דְּ־, (כֵּין דְּ־ M. MS., B. M. 39 *a*) *as soon as, after, since.*[4]

מֵאַחַר *since.*

מִגּוֹ (מִן + גּוֹ) *in case, since, supposing.*

מִדְּ־ *from the fact that, since.*

מִיהָא, מִיהוּ, מִיהַת, *but, yet, however, nevertheless.*[5]

מִכְּלָל *hence, it then follows.*

מִקַּמֵּי דְּ־ *before that, ere.*

נַמִּי *also, too, even,* frequently preceded by אַף, *q. v.*[6]

§ 183. אוֹ and אִי are often interchangeable so that, for instance, we may have אוֹ ... אוֹ, אִי ... אִי, אוֹ ... אִי, אִי ... אוֹ, promiscuously. Col. MS., Zeb. 2 *a* a. e., has אוֹבָּעִית for the usual אִיבָּעִית; אוֹ *if,* id., *ibid.* 4 *b*, 5 *a;* דְּאוֹ אִיכָּא id., *ibid.* 5 *b*.

1 See on this כ: Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna,* § 23, 2; and Sachau, *Skizze,* etc., p. 45.

2 In later literature: מאי כואיברך, read: מַאי כּוּ אִיבְרַךְ *MV.* 5; מַאי כּוּ *Letter of Sam. ha-Nāgid,* אוצר טוב II., p. 65.

3 In later literature: כִּי הֵיכָא דְ־ *HG.*, 63; כִּי הֵיכֵן דְ־, *ibid.* 24, 33; כְּהֵיכִי דְ־, *ibid.* 73; כִּי הֵיכוּן, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

4 כָּאן דְ־, *MV.* 11.

5 מִידוּא, or מִיהֲוָא, *HG.* 473, 533. The word is a compound of the interrogative מִי and הָוָא, הֲוַת; *cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

6 According to Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 191, note 2, נַמִּי is the first pers. sing. perf. of נוּם *to speak.* The word is perhaps connected with 'Omanee Arabic نُوبَة *also,* or with نَمَى *to increase.*

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§ 184. אִי is frequently contracted with the following word. This is especially the case with some standing expressions; as אִיבְעֵית, אִילֵימָא, אִינֵימָא, אִיתֵימָא. Col. MS., Zeb. 22*b*, a. e., יְהָבֵי for אִי הָבֵי.[1]

INTERJECTIONS.

§ 185. אִי, הִי, *woe! alas! oh!*

אִי *O!* = Arabic يَا.[2] אִי שְׁתִיקוּ שְׁתִיקוּ *come now, keep quiet!* Quidd. 70*b*. This particle is more frequent in Palestinean Aramaic. אַשּׁוּר הַיְיָא *go on! make haste! hurry up! quick! lively!*[3]

וַי, וַיי, וַי, *woe! oh! alas!*

דָּא דָא, דָּה דָה, the camel-driver's call. הָא הָא, הוּ הוּ, הָן הָן, (V. L. Pes. 112*b*), הוּא (Col. MS., *ibid.*) the ox-driver's cries. זָא זָא, זָה זָה, זְזָא (V. L. *ibid.*) a cry to frighten away a lion.

הִילְּא, הוּלְיָא, הִילוֹנִי, הִילְיוֹנִי, הִילְנִי, הִילְבֵּי, הִילוּהַ, הִילוּק, הַיְיָא, are given in Pes. 112*b* (*cf. VL.*) as sailor's cries.[4] *Cf.* Syr. ܗܘܠܐ ܗܘܠܐ.

טִיקַ טִיקַ an onomatopoetic word imitating the dripping of water.

לְחַיֵּי *very well! all right!* The word is connected with Ethiopic lahaia *to be beautiful.* *Cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

כִּישׁ כִּישׁ, קִישׁ קִישׁ, *ding-dong;* an onomatopoetic word.

§186. דָּא דָא,[5] הָא הָא, זָא זָא, and their variants are evidently demonstrative pronouns, and their use as a means of urging on animals and warding off wild beasts is probably based on some superstitious notion no more apparent. *Cf.*, however, Arabic صَعْ صَعْ, دُهْ دُهْ, دَاهِ دَاهِ, هَاعْ, هَاهْ, زِهْ.

[1] For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, *cf.* Jastrow's *Dictionary*; Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* VIII., 180–90; Luzzatto's *Grammar*, and Liebermann's pamphlet mentioned in the Preface.

[2] For the explanation of this particle I am indebted to Professor Haupt, who remarks: "The אִי in אי שתיקו is perhaps a cohortative particle, *cf.* Assyr. i, *e. g.*. i ṣi אי צאי *come out*, i rid אי רד *go down*, etc. *Cf.* Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, p. 333, No. 160; *Prol.*, 135; *ZK.*, II., 389; *ZA.*, I., 51; *Assyr. Gramm.*, §145. It is possible that the אי in expressions like אי רבי *O Rabbi*, אי שושה שבעולם, is the same particle. It is certainly not *ἰ*, *εἶα*. It may be connected with the Arabic vocative particle يا. Also in Assyrian i is used as a vocative particle like אי רבי, *e. g.*, i belî; *cf.* Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 1894, p. 52." From Saadya's commentary on the ס׳ יצירה (ed. Lambert, p. 45) we see that at his time the Arabic form יָא was in use, just as in modern Syriac. For its use in later Hebrew, *cf.* Derenbourg, *Manuel du Lecteur*, p. 189 (497) and Epstein, *'Eldâd ha-Dânî*, p. 58, *cf.* also איר on a Babylonian magic bowl, *PSBA*. XII., 311.

[3] הייא occurs also in Neo-Syriac, Arabic and Kurdish (Lidzbarsky, *DLZ.*, 1896, Col. 583) and has nothing to do with חייא *to live*.

[4] Perles, *MWGJ*. XXXVII., 10, finds in some of these words the names of ships.

[5] דָּאדָה, M. V., 328.

Contributed Notes.

ŠeVÂ AND ḤÂṬEPH.

In an article published last year "On the Etymology of the Term Š^e^vâ"[1] I have shown that Ḥaṭeph is the older name of the two and that it meant originally only vocal š^e^vâ. I believe I am able now to throw more light on the subject. We have three systems of Hebrew vocalization: the earliest, the Palestinean lately discovered by Dr. Friedländer;[2] a later system, the Babylonian, discovered within the last half century; and the latest, the received Tiberian system. Each of the two last systems meant to improve on its predecessor, among other points, also with regard to the denotation of ševâ. The Palestinean system had no sign for ševâ; silent ševâ it did not mark at all, vocal ševâ it denoted by one of the short vowels, *i*, *e*, *a*. The Babylonian system improved upon its predecessor by introducing a sign for vocal ševâ. This sign is a horizontal line. The Tiberian system has improved upon its predecessor by introducing a sign also for silent ševâ, probably under the influence of the Arabic, and changing the horizontal line to a double point.

Since Luzzatto it is a recognized fact that the Hebrew vowel-system is based on that of the Syriac, and we shall not go amiss if we recognize in the ševâ sign of the Babylonian system the Syriac ܡܪܗܛܢܐ, and in the name חָטֵף, or חֲטַף as Baer vocalizes it, a direct translation of that Syriac term. In the Babylonian system the *marheṭânâ* sign has been adopted to denote *rāphè*, *i. e.*, the loss of doubling or of pronunciation (as in ה), and a new sign had to be introduced for ševâ, a double point. This sign seems to have been taken from the Syriac ܫܘܝܐ. Whether the term ševâ is etymologically identical with this Syriac term, as Luzzatto maintains,[3] or is a translation of the Arabic سُكُون as I tried to show,[4] or the two names שוא, שבא, are etymologically different as Halévy maintains,[5] one thing seems certain, that חטף belongs to the Babylonian system, while ševâ is characteristic of the Tiberian system. Considering that in Sa'adya's time (892–941?), the term ševâ was not yet generally known,[6] the Tiberian system cannot be much

[1] *AJPh.*, XVI., pp. 28–37.

[2] *JQR.*, VII., April 1895; *Expositor*, March 1896.

[3] *Prolegomeni*, p. 16; אגרות שד"ל, p. 331.

[4] *AJPh.*, XVI., 34.

[5] מחברת, p. נז.

[6] *Comment. sur le Livre de la Création*, Arabic part, p. 79.

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older than Sa'adya's time. I take this opportunity to add to my article on ševâ, quoted above, an additional number of references to the spelling שבא and some more guesses at its etymology. שבא is found in an unknown grammarian quoted by Poznański in his work on Chiquitilla, p. 136; in an anonymous commentary on Canticles, published by Mathews in the festive publication published in honor of Dr. Steinschneider, Hebrew part, p. 167; in Goldberg's מגנזי ישראל בפריס, pp. 51, 54; in David Qimḥi's *Commentary on Psalms*, ed. by Schiller-Szinessy, chs. 9:1, 34:22, 23, and in his Dictionary, *s. v.* אמן; in RAbD's commentary on ס' יצירה Mishna 3; in the commentary אוצר ה' on the same work, ch. 1, Mishna 2; in Elia Wilna's commentary on the same, ch. 1, Mishna 1, אופן 3, and ch. 2, Mishna 6 in his לקוטים, p. 46*b* of the Warsaw edition; in RSbZ Duran's מגן אבות, IV., 13; in Abrabanel quoted by Uçeda in מדרש שמואל to I., 3; in Chiquitilla's בנת אגוז quoted by Buxtorp in his *Tractatus de Punct.*, p. 61, and in the biblical commentary אורח החיים quoted in החוקר I., 20.

Loescher (*De Causis Linguae Ebraeae*, p. 319) quotes the following in explanation of the term ševâ: Primae classis assertores nomen hoc derivant a שְׁוָא *vanitas*, quippe cum sonus hujus puncti omnium vanissimus sit, levissimeque transeat. Alterius ordinis patroni vocem deducunt a radice שוה aqualitatem [read: aequalitatem] designante, monentque, Scheva aequaliter se ad omnes habere vocales et de omnium sono participare posse, nunquam vero pondus aliquot praevalens accipere, neque adeo accentum sustinere. Tertiae seriei defensores vocem istam a שוב derivant, et Chaldaicae fere formationis esse putant, rationem vero etymologiae hanc reddunt, quod Scheva syllabam compositam ad sua initia reducat.

C. LEVIAS.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL

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SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

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A COMMENTARY TO DEUTERONOMY.

TAKEN FROM THE FOUR GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS WHICH COMPRISE THE ܐܘܨܪ ܪܐܙܐ OF GREGORY ABULFARAǴ BAR-HEBRAEUS.

Edited by George Kerber, Ph.D.,
Berlin.

The complete edition of the *Treasury of Secrets* by Bar-Hebraeus will soon be published. With his commentary to the Pentateuch, excepting the Book of Leviticus (ed. by G. Kerber, Lipsiae, 1895) and some short extracts published by F. F. Larsow (Lipsiae, 1858: Gen. 1, 2) and R. Schroeter (*ZDMG.* 24 (1870), p. 495 *sqq.:* Gen. 49, 50; Ex. 14, 15; Deut. 32–34) nothing has been done.

It is not necessary to speak of the importance of Bar-Hebraeus for grammatical, lexicographical and critical purposes, for already enough has been said. The publication of his commentary to Deuteronomy therefore seems to me necessary because a great number of citations from the Syriac translation of Paul of Tella are scattered throughout it, which have not come down to us in other manuscripts. At one time a MS. belonging to Andrew Masius contained almost half of the Syriac Hexapla to Deuteronomy (from ch. 17 *sqq.*). Unfortunately this MS. was lost after his death, and we have only an extract of it in his *Critica Sacra*, Tom. I., Part ii (Francofurti ad Moenum 1701, col. 265 *sq.*). The few fragments of the translation by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion have been collected by Field (*Origenis*

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Hexaplorum quae supersunt . . . , Tom. I., Oxonii, 1875) from a MS. which is in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 21, 580), and placed in his edition of the Hexapla. Chs. 32–34 of the *Commentary on Deuteronomy* by Bar-Hebraeus have been published by R. Schroeter in *ZDMG*. 24 (1870), p. 505 *sqq*.

The four MSS. from which the following commentary has been prepared are:

1) Cod. Berolinensis Sachau 326 (S), the oldest and best MS., apparently written at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century; see A. Heppner, *Die Scholien des Bar-Hebraeus zu Ruth und den apokr. Zusätzen zu Daniel*, Berlin, 1888, p. 2. According to M. Loehr (*Gregorii Abulfaragii Bar Ebhraya in epist. Paulinas adnotationes syr.*, ed.· Göttingen, 1888, p. v) written in the 16th century.

2) Cod. Berolinensis Sachau 134 (s), written in Tûr Abdin in the year 1626 A. D.; see B. Moritz, *Scholia in duodecim prophetas minores*, Lipsiae, 1882, p. 13.

3) Cod. Berolinensis Petermann, I., 10 (p), written in Dêr-Zaʿfᵉrân in the year 1647 A. D.; see R. G. F. Schroeter, *Schol. in Ps. 8, 40, 41, 50*, Vratislaviae, 1857, p. 4, and A. Rahlfs, *Anmerkungen zu den salomonischen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1887, p. iii.

4) Cod. Gottingensis Or. 18*a* (g), written in Quṭurbul in the years 1755–1758 A. D.; see R. Schroeter in *ZDMG*. 29 (1875), p. 248 *sq*. and A. Rahlfs in *Syrische Handschriften* (*der Göttinger Universitäts-Bibliothek*), p. 465.

In regard to the relation of the MSS. see A. Rahlfs, p. iv, and V. Kraus, *Gregorii Bar-Hebraei Scholia in libros Josuae et Judicum*, Kirchhaini, N. L., p. 4.

The following abbreviations have been used in the notations of the variae lectiones given beneath the text:

S = cod. Sachau 326, Berolinensis (fol. 43*r*–47*r*).
s = cod. Sachau 134, Berolinensis (fol. 59*r*–64*r*).
p = cod. Petermann, I., 10, Berolinensis (fol. 48*ra*–52*rb*).
g = cod. Gottingensis 18*a* (fol. 37*rb*–41*rb*).
a = cod. Ambrosianus ed. A. M. Ceriani, 1876.
l = textus Bibliorum polyglottorum Londinensium Briani Walton, 1654.
u = textus editionis Urmianae 1852.
π = alu = Versio simplex, Pešiṭto.
\+ indicates "added."
> indicates "omitted."
ܗ = ܗ̇ܢܘ = *i. e.*

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ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܣܘܟܠܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܘܬܢܝܢܐ ܒܫܪܝܐ. ܦܪܘܫܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܡܫܠܡܢܘ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܠܟܘܢ ܕܒܫܦܪܐ ܐܪܥܢܐ ܘܐܠܗܝܐ ܘܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܒܫܦܪܐ ܗܢܐ. ܘܗܕܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܪܥܐ. ܚܕܐ ܡܢܗ ܕܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܝ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܘܫܐ. ܕܐܪܥܝܢ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܗܝ ܘܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܦܘܪܫܢ ܫܡܘܥܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܐ ܘܒܝܡܬܐ ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܚܕܐ ܐܘܟܘܚܬܐ "ܕܢܨܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܡܠܠ" ܠܟܠܟܘܢ ܡܫܡܥ. ܕܐܟܠ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܡܐ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܡܪܗ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܡܫܠܡ ܡܟܠܡܢܘܬܗ. ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܟܠ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܒܠܘܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܠܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܬܪܬܐ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܒܗܝ ܩܪܢܐ.

I ܘܬܢܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ. I. [1]"ܘܗܫܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒܢܝܗ ܡܫܪܝܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܘܪܕܝܢ ܒܡܪܝܒܐ ܒܡܪܢܝܐ ܠܥܡܗ ܫܡܥ ܒܗ ܦܢܝ ܘܒܗ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܠܒܠܝ ܘܫܡܘܪܐ ܘܡܝܬܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܡܠܒܪܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܫܦܪܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܡܒܠܒ ܡܠܗ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܟܝܢ ܒܫܬܝܩܘܬܐ ܡܟܠܡܢܘܬܗ. [3]"ܘܗܘܐ ܒܥܠܡ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܒܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܟܠܡ ܗܠܝܢ. [5]"ܢܩܦ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܦܩܩ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܗܢܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܟܠܡ ܟܠܢܐ ܒܝܘܡ. [7]"ܡܟܠܗܘܕܐ ܡܟܠܡܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܟܠܡܟܠ ܢܗܪܐ. ܡܟܠܡܐ "ܡܟܠܡܟܠܐ" [44]"ܘܐܪܦܩܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܡܠܟܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܡܟܪܟܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܢ ܕܢܢܐ ܢܡܦܩܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܗܝ.

II II. [1]"ܘܐܬܦܢܝܬܘܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܐ" ܒܪܘܚ ܪܒ

ܘܬܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܪܥܝ: [5]"ܒܗ ܡܕܪܟ ܦܣܬܐ ܕܪܓܠܐ" ܡܬܠܝܢܐ "ܕܥܘܕܪܬܐ ܕܒܟܠܬܐ ܕܪܓܠܐ". [6]"ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܬܠܗܘܢ" ܒܪܘܚ ܒܗ ܦܫܛܐ.

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1 ܠܡܘܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ >s ‖ 5 ܫܡܘܥܬܐ S ‖ 6 Deut. 32:1 ‖ 7 ܕܐܟܠܬܐ s ‖ ܘܚܕܐ S ‖ 9 ܐܡܠܠ Ss ‖ 13 ܦܢܝ 1 ‖ ܘܡܝܬܘܢ a, ܘܡܝܬܘܢ u ‖ 20 ܠܡܕܒܪܐ after ܪܒ gps ‖ 22 ܡܬܠܗܘܢ after ܦܫܛܐ gps.

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"ܘܡܢ ܠܟܠ". ¹¹ "ܘܡܫܬܪܥܢܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܦܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܠܦܢܐ. ܡܛܠܗ "ܬܫܡܫܬܝܗ". ¹² "ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܒܗܘ ܣܘܓܐܐ". ²⁰ "ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܗܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܝܬܐ. ²² "ܡܣܟܠܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܡܬܐܡܪܐ ܠܢܒܝܐ" ܡܛܠܗ "ܠܚܛܝܬܐ". ²³ "ܡܫܬܪܥܝܢܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܫܢ".

²⁶ "ܡܬܪܥܢܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ". ⁹ "ܕܬܘܬܒܐ" ܡܛܠܗ "ܦܘܠܚܢܐ" "ܦܪܝܫ III. III ܠܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܬܪܝܨܝܢ". ¹⁰ "ܠܡܕܡ ܠܡܫܟܚܘ" ܒܗܘܢ ܒܗ. ¹¹ "ܠܬܘܒ ܠܬܘܒ ܗܘ ܕܬܪܝܨܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܠܫܡ "ܗܘܐ ܦܪܘܫ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܬܘܒܗ" ܡܛܠܗ "ܦܪܝܫ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܠܬܘܒܗ" ܗ̄ ܒܗ ܐܦܐ ܠܡܢ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܫܒܝܠܗ ܘܡܢ ܥܠ ܠܬܘܒܗ. "ܐܝܟ ܐܡܬܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܡܬܝ ܡܟܝܠ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܬܪܝܨܐ" ܗ̄ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܗ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܒܬܪܘܢ. ¹³ "ܘܡܢܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܬܪܥܝܬ" ܒܡܠܬܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܘܪܚ ܐܢܫ.

ܕܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ: ¹⁴ "ܬܡܪܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ" ¹⁷ "ܐܬܦܪܣ ܘܦܫܝܛܐ" ܗ̄

IV ܡܢܗܠܟܐ. IV ¹⁹ "ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܣܘ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܚܝܘ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܬܫܪܐ ܘܡܬܦܠܓܐ ܘܡܘܢܗܘܢ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܘܐܬܚܫܒܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܟܠ" ܡܫܬܥܐ ܗܘܐ. ܡܛܠܗ "ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܡܢܗ ܗܘ" "ܐܝܟ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܠܬܘܒܗ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ". ܗ̄ ܡܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܪܣܘ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܫܒܝܠܐ ܕܠܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܐܘ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܢ. ܐܬܚܫܒ ܐܝܟ ܠܟܠܗ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܡܫܬܟܚܐ > ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܬܟܚܢ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܠܫܘܪܝܐ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܢܘܬܐ ²⁰ "ܘܐܬܦܪܣ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܡܬܬܘܚ ܡܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܐܬܚܫܒܬܐ ܗܘܐ. ²⁴ "ܡܛܠܗ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܠܬܘܒܗ ܠܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܫܒܐ" ܗ̄ "ܠܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܝܗܒܐ". ²⁶ "ܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܬܚܫܒܘ"

4 ܘܡܫܬܪܥܝܢܐ l ‖ 5 ܕܬܘܬܒܐ S ‖ 9 ܥܠ ܗ gps ‖ ܐܘܪܚܗ S ‖ 10 ܡܢܗ S ‖ 11 ܡܢܗ >ܘ a ‖ ܐܬܦܪܣ u, ܐܬܦܪܣ l ‖ 12 ܕܐܬܚܫܒܬܐ] is often omitted in p ‖ ܐܬܦܪܣ lu ‖ 13 ܡܬܚܫܒܢ ** ‖ 14 ܘܐܬܚܫܒܘ]+ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ a ‖ 16 ܐܝܟ >gps ‖ 18 Rom. 1:28 ‖ ܡܫܬܟܚܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܐ] ܠܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ l ‖ ܡܬܚܫܒܢ gps ‖ 21 ܠܟܠܗ ܗ̄] ܘܠܟܠܗ ** ‖ ܐܬܚܫܒܘ after ܡܬܚܫܒ gps (p. 93).

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ܒܟܠ ܕܘܟ. ³⁰"ܘܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܗ̇ܠܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ" ܡܛܠܕ "ܘܡܬܚܫܒ̈ܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܟܠܗ̈ܝܢ ܗ̇ܠܝܢ".

ܪܝܫܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ: ⁴⁸"ܣܝܪܘܢ . . . ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ . . . ܚܪܡܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܘܗܒܐ ܕܒܗ ܥܩܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܬܐܪܐ ܕܡܘܪܐ̈ܝܢ. ܘܡܛܠܬܐ ܐܣܬܠܩܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܝ.

V V. ²¹"ܠܐ ܬܪܓ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܚܒܪܟ" ܗ̄ ܠܗ ܠܒܗܬܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܕ ܦܘܡ ܠܡܬܟܪܟܘ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܦܫܘܢ ܒܒܣܪܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܡܬܚܬܐ ܬܘܢܗ. ³¹"ܠܬܪܥܝܬܗ" ܒܟܠ ܕܘܟ.

VI ܪܝܫܐ ܕܫܬܬܐ. VI. ¹⁸"ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܟܠܗ ܕܥܠ ܘܠܗ ܡܠܘܗ ܘܡܫܡܥܗ ܢܦܫܗ" ܗ̄ ܠܗ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܒܪܐ ܐܠܝܨ ܒܗ. ܘܠܗ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܐܪܥ ܠܡܐܬܐ.

VII VII. ⁵"ܢܫܒܘܩܘܢ ܦܬܘܪܗ" ܗ̄ ܠܐܝܟܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܦܬܘܪܐ. ²²"ܠܐ ܬܫܟܚ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܘܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܣܓܐ ܠܟ ܚܝܘܬ ܒܪܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܠܫܬܐܡܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܐܬܝܘܢ ܘܐܠܐ ܡܢܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦ ܡܫܬܘܐ ܒܪܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܘܗܝ.

VIII VIII. ²"ܗܘ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܢܤܝܟ ܘܢܢܣܝܟ ܘܢܕܥ ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܠܒܟ" ܗ̄ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܠܐ ܕܢܘܕܥ ܠܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܬܪܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. ³"ܘܐܘܟܠܟ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܚܝܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܚܝܐ ܐܢܫܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܐ. ⁴"ܢܚܬܡܟ ܠܐ ܒܠܝܘ ܡܢܟ. ܘܪܓܠܝܟ ܠܐ ܐܬܢܦܚ" ܡܛܠܕ "ܠܐ ܐܬܪܦܝ" ܗܘܐ" ܐܪܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܚܣܪܘ ܠܟ ܢܚܬܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܣܐܢܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܗܘ ܡܕܡ.

1 ܠܟܘܢ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ gs || 3 ܛܘܪܐ gps || 4 ܗ̇ܠܝܢ >S || ܡܛܠܬܐ] ܡܛܠܗ g || 10 ܕܐܬܪܐ >ܕ s || 12 ܠܐ]+ܪܝܫ a || 13 ܕܠܐ] ܘܠܐ s || 14 ܠܫܬܐܡܘܢ S || ܠܡܐܬܝܗܘܢ Ss || 16 ܒܡܕܒܪܐ >ܕ ✠ || ܕܢܢܣܝܢܟ glp : ܕܢܢܣܝܟ Ssua || ܘܕܢܕܥ ✠ || 18 ܕܐܘܟܠܟ >ܘ ✠ || 18 ܒܟܠ >ܒ a || ܒܟܠ]+ܡܕܡ s || 19 ܐܢܫܐ] ܒܪܢܫܐ gs || 21 ܗ̄ >gps || ܡܛܠܗ ܗܢܐ S.

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ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܡܢܝܐ: [9] "ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܒܝ̈ܡܡܐ ܗܪܕܝܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܝ̈ܡܡܗ
ܡܬܥܒ̈ܪܢ ܗܪܕܝܬܐ. "ܘܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܝܢܩ̈ܐ ܝܠܘ̈ܕܐ" ܡܠܝܐ "ܕܝܢܩܘ
IX ܝܠܘܕܐ" .IX [17] "ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܫܝܘܠ" ܦܪܫ ܠܗ. [21] "ܠܡܕܢܐ
ܕܐܬܪܝܡ" ܦܪܫ ܡܢܗ. "ܘܐܬܝܕܥܘ ܒܥܡܘ" ܗ̄ ܠܥܡܘ.
X ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܥܣܪܐ: .X [6] "ܘܥܠ ܣܪܝܩܐ ܫܡܗ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ
ܘܥܠ ܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ". ܘܡܢ ܡܥܠܝ ܐܪܥܐ". .XI [4] "ܠܥܪܩܐ
XI ܡܠܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܠܥܒܕܝܢ" ܩܘܡܝ ܗܘ ܘܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܡܪܚܡܢܐ.
[28] "ܘܐܢ ܕܫܬܩ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ" ܦܪܫ ܠܗ. [29] "ܗܘܝ ܒܥܘܠܐ ܠܗ
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܙܕܝܩ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܐ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܥܒܕܐ. "ܡܠܘܬܐ ܠܗ
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܬ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܕܡܥܒܕܐ.
XII ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܬܪܥܣܪܐ: .XII [9] "ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܠܒܘܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܘܗܝ" ܥܡܠܗ
ܡܫܪܝ. [13] "ܐܬܕܟܪ ܕܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܡܫܝܚܝ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ܕܪܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ"
ܗ̄ ܐܠܐ ܒܬܘܪܡܠܟ ܒܠܝܒܘ. [15] "ܕܡܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܕܪܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܝܬܘܢ" ܗ̄
ܡܬܐܐ ܗܪܟܐ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܡܘܪܟܐ ܦܪܐ. "ܐܝܟ ܡܠܐ ܘܐܝܟ
ܐܡܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܡܬܐܟܠܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܠܗܪܒܝܢ ܘܐܦܠܐ ܡܬܡܫܠܛܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ.
[19] "ܐܬܕܟܪ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܬܒܩ ܠܒܣܝܡܐ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܬܬܦܝܚ ܒܐܪܥܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܬܬܗܦܟܐ
ܡܠܬܗ ܫܝ [20] "ܘܡܢ ܠܐܘܣ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܫܡܝ ܬܬܡܠܝ" ܒܥܠܝܣ ܢܦܫ.
XIII .XIII [1] "ܐܢܬܬܘܢ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܠܗܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܕܢܐܠܐ "ܐܘ ܫܠܡܝ ܫܒܠܝܐ ܘܢܣܒ
ܠܝ ܐܬܐ ܡܬܕܡܝܐܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܬܬܚܫܒ ܡܠܬܗ ܐܢ ܒܠܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܪܝܐ ܢܗܝ
ܠܝ. ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܢܦܪ ܐܬܐ ܦܪܘܦܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܟܐ ܠܡܫܡܪ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܢܫܬܐ
ܒܐܪܥܐ. [8] "ܠܐ ܬܬܢܝܫܘܢ ܡܠܬܗ ܘܠܐ ܬܬܒܛܝܠܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܬܬܦܣܩ

3 ܐܢܬܘܢ] ܐܢܬܘܢ gps ‖ ܠܫܝܘܠܬܗܘܢ l ‖ 6 ܡܥܠܝ ✱ ‖ 8 ܗܘ ܒ auS ‖ 10 ܒܪ <s ‖ 12 ܐܬܕܟܪܘ au ‖ ܕܠܐ] ܘܠܐ gps ‖ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ S ‖ 13 ܘܕܪܬܐ ✱ ‖ ܐܝܟܐ] ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܬܘܢ au ‖ 16 ܕܠܐ] ܘܠܐ s ‖ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܐ a ‖ 17 ܠܐܘܣ lu ‖ 18 ܐܢܬܬܘܢ ܘܡܢ ✱ ‖ ܠܗܘܢ] ܘܒܗܘܢ ps >g ‖ 19 ܫܪܝܐ pS ‖ 21 ܬܬܢܝܫܘܢ S.

ܦܢܫܗ. ܐܬܬܥܝܫ ܥܡܝ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ
ܒܐܡܬܐ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܠܗ. ܡܢ ܗܘ ܦܢܫܐ. ܘܐܬܬܥܝܫ ܥܡܝ ܠܗ ܘܗܘܝܘ
ܗܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ ܒܐܡܬܐ ܐܡܬܝ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܥܡܗ.
ܕܫܢܐ ܕܫܒܥܐ: [14] "ܬܫܒܘܩ ܘܬܫܪܐ ܘܬܫܘܠ ܥܡܟ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܪܥܘܢ
ܠܦܪܢܣܘ ܢܦܫ ܕܝܠܗ. [15] "ܣܪܘܦܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܬܗܦܟܐ ܒܥܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܫܐ.
XIV "ܘܐܣܪܘܦܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ. XIV. [1] "ܠܐ ܬܬܓܕܕܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ
ܬܬܕܡܘܢ ܠܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܢܟܦܐ ܢܦ̈ܫܐ. ܡܬܠܬܐ "ܠܐ ܬܣܝܡܘܢ".
ܐܡܬܝ ܕܡܬܡܘܬܝܢ ܐܘܪܚܝܢ "ܠܐ ܬܣܪܛܘܢ". [5] "ܡܫܚܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܬܘܪܐ
ܦܪܕܐ. "ܡܥܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܒ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܘܡܬܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܡܢܗ
ܐܪܙܐ. "ܕܡܥܐ" ܠܥܢܝܐ ܕܒܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܘܣܝܐ ܡܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗ. ܡܬܠܬܐ
"ܥܒܕܐ ܢܥܒܕܐ" ܦܪܐ ܠܗ. "ܕܡܝܐ" ܗ̄ ܚܙܝܐ ܒܪܝܐ. "ܐܪܕܐ" ܗ̄
ܬܡܐ ܦܪܕܐ. [7] "ܐܡܟܝܢ ܕܢܩܦܝܢ ܦܪܣܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܦܝܢ ܕܠܦܝܢ" ܡܬܠܬܐ
XV "ܦܫܡܝܢ ܢܦܪܐ. XV. "ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ" ܥܡܠܐ ܗܘ. ܢܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ
ܥܡܠܐ ܬܘ. [17] "ܦܫܘܛ ܦܫܘܛ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܠܟܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ
ܒܥܘܐ ܠܠܟܘܢ" ܗ̄ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܠܡܫܪܐ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܗܥܒܕܐ. [21] "ܘܐܢ
ܢܦܫܘܪ ܐܘ ܢܥܒܕܘܪ" ܒܥܠܡ ܫܢܬ ܗܘܐ.
XVI ܕܫܢܐ ܕܟܫܪܐ: XVI. [3] "ܦܛܝܪ ܦܨܚܐ ܠܥܒܪܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܬܘܪܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܡܪܐ ܡܠܗ ܬܘܪܐ ܡܬܠܒܫ ܒܦܨܚܐ. ܘܒܬܪ ܐܝܟ
ܐܘܟܠܐ ܗܝܡܢܐ ܦܨܚ ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢܗ ܒܠܘܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ. ܘܦܛܝܪܐ
ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ "ܕܒܫܠܐ ܘܐܟܘܠ" ܐܡܪ. ܘܦܛܝܪܐ ܕܕܒܚܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ ܡܬܐܟܠܐ
ܘܠܐ ܡܬܒܫܠ [5] "ܠܐ ܬܫܟܚ ܠܟ ܠܡܕܒܚ ܦܨܚܐ ܒܚܕܐ ܡܢ

4 ܗ̄ >s || ܬܫܬܪܥܘܢ S || 5 ܣܪܘܦ S* || 6 ܘܐܣܪܘܦܐ] ܣܪܘܦܐ̇ܢ * || ܠܐ 1°] ܘܠܐ gps ||
8 ܐܘܪܚܝܢ >S || 10 ܕܡܥܐ s || ܣܝܐ ܘܡܬܐ s || 12 ܕܠܦܝܢ s || 14 ܘܥܡܠ a || 15 ܘܐܢ]
ܐܢ S, ܐܘ l, ܘܠܡܫܪ a || 16 ܢܥܒܕܘܪ l || 17 ܘܥܡܠ au || ܠܟܘܢ >u || 19 ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢܗ >ܕ g,
ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢ S.

ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܣܠܐܘ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܗܘ
ܠܡܫܡܥܗ ܡܠܬܗ'' ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܫܘܕܐ ܠܡܫܡܥܗ ܫܘܪܟܐ
ܠܟܢ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ⁹''ܡܕܐ ܕܡܬܝܪܐ ܐܠܗ ܡܬܚܠܐ ܒܡܝܬܘܬܐ'' ܫܘܠܡܐ
ܡܕܐ ܕܡܬܝܪܐ ܐܠܗ ܒܡܬܚܠܐ ܥܠ ܚܕܪܐ''. ²¹''ܠܐ ܬܬܪܘܨ ܠܟ ܢܦܫܟܬܐ
ܕܥܠ ܐܝܟܢ ܥܠ ܢܦܫ ܡܢܒܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܟܘ'' ܗ̄ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܕܒܪܐ ܠܚܛܗܐ
ܕܬܣܝܒ ܐܠܟܐ ܡܢܒܝܢ ܠܚܝܐܕܐ. ⁷''ܘܐܝܕܐ ܕܗܘܕܐ ܬܬܚܙܐ XVII. ܬܫܪܐ XVII
ܥܠ ܒܡܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܠܡܢܒܝܢܘ'' ܗ̄ ܕܐܢ ܢܬܠܐܡ ܫܘܕܪܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܢܦܩܠܝܢ
ܫܢܝܬܗ. ¹⁵''ܡܬܩܒܠܘ ܐܝܟܢ ܠܟܠܝܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ
ܠܟܘ'' ܗ̄ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܢܟܪܝܐ ܐܘ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܫܥܒ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܕܐܠܐܝܬ
ܐܪܐ ܐܬܪܥܝܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܠ ܡܫܬܐܠܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܘ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ
ܕܡܠܟܘܢ ܠܥܡܡܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ''ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ
ܐܬܠܝܗ ܐܠܐ ܠܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܠܟ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ''. ¹⁸''ܘܡܕܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ
ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܢܟܬܘܒ ܠܗ ܦܘܪܫܢܗ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܢܐ ܒܟܬܒܐ'' ܫܘܠܡܐ
''ܬܢܝܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܗܢܐ'' ܗ̄ ܡܫܠܡ ܕܒܢܝܫܬܐ ܗܘ ܘܫܡܫܬܗ ܡܢܐ
ܕܠܐܡܪܝܗܘܢ ܒܟܗܢܘܬܗ.

ܘܡܢܐ ܕܠܢܒܥܐ: XVIII. ³''ܢܬܠ ܠܟܗܢܐ ܕܪܥܐ ܘܦܟܐ XVIII
ܘܟܪܣܬܐ'' ܒܡܠܟ ܟܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܠܗܝ ܘܩܒܠ ܘܐܘ. ܢܬܦܫܛܢܐ ܒܬܠܬ
ܟܐ ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗܝ. ܗ̄ ܢܒܝܐ. ⁴''ܪܫܝܬ ܢܬܠܐ ܕܥܡܪ ܗܒ ܠܗ'' ܒܪܩܝ
ܢܬܠ. ⁸''ܡܢܬ ܡܢ ܐܚܐ ܕܐܒܗܐ'' ܒܪܩܝ ܐܝܟ. ¹⁰''ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ
ܒܟ ܕܡܥܒܪ ܒܪܗ ܐܘ ܒܪܬܗ ܒܢܘܪܐ'' ܗ̄ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܚܢܦܐ. ''ܐܘ
ܕܩܣܡ ܩܣܡܐ. ܘܕܡܢܚܫ ܢܚܫܐ'' ܒܬܠܬ ܡܢܐܟ ܘܪܩܝ ܚܕܐ. ''ܘܕܡܥܢܐ

1 ܠܟܘ (2⁰)—ܡܪܝܐ (1⁰) >g || 3 ܡܕܐ] ܐܝܟ g || 5 ܢܦܫ S || ܠܐ >ܕ gps ||
11 ܕܠܥܡܡܐ+ ܗ̄ S || ܐܡܪ S || 1 Sam. 8:7 || 12 ܠܟ+ ܐܬܠܝܗ ⁎ || 12 ܢܬܠܟ u ||
13 ܢܟܬܘܒ u || ܠܗ >gps || 14 ܗܢܐ >gps || ܒܟܗܢܘܬܗ S : ܒܟܗܢܘܬܗܘܢ gps ||
18 ܠܗܝ ܘܐܝܬ >gps || ܢܬܠܐ] ܢܬܠܘܢ a || 19 ܠܐ >ܘ ⁎ || 20 ܒܟ+ ܡܢܟ gps || ܐܘ
ܒܪܬܗ >gps || 21 ܘܩܣܡ a || ܘܡܢܚܫ al.

ܘܚܪܫ [11] ܘܐܬܪܥܡ ܒܐܦܝܐ ܘܫܐܠ ܡܢ ܐܫ̈ܘܕܐ" ܡܦܩܢܐ "ܡܢ ܡܬܠܠܠ ܡܢ ܩܒܪܐ "ܘܡܢ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܘܫܐܠ ܠܡܝ̈ܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܝܟ ܫܐܘܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܡܬܡܠܠܢܘܬܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢܗ. [14] "ܡܢܥ ܠܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ [15] ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܟ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܝܟ ܐܝܟܘܬܝ ܢܩܝܡ ܠܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ. ܠܗ ܬܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܡܥܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܦܐ ܒܪ ܠܘܝ ܙܩܪ.

XIX ܘܪܚܡܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܝ. XIX. [14] "ܠܐ ܬܫܢܐ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܚܒܪܟ ܕܬܚܡܘ ܩܕܡܝ̈ܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܚܣܝܪ ܥܠ ܠܚܒܪܟ [16] "ܘܢܣܗܕ ܒܠܘܗܝ ܥܘܠܐ" ܥܒܕܐ ܠܗ. ܡܦܩܢܐ "ܢܩܘܡ ܠܘܩܒܠܗ". [19] "ܘܒܥ̈ܪܘ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܢܬܟܘܢ" ܡܦܩܢܐ "ܐܪܚܩܘ".

XX ܙܢܝܐ ܕܐܬܕܟܪ: XX. [8] "ܢܦܠܘܢ ܝܨܪܐ ܕܕܚܝܠ ܘܢܬܒܪ ܠܒܗ." [19] "ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ" ܒܒܢܝ ܗܘ "ܐܝܟ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܢܥܪܘܩ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܟ ܒܐܘܠܨܢܐ" [20] "ܘܒܢܝ ܡܟܣܬܐ ܥܠ ܩܪܝܬܐ" ܡܦܩܢܐ ܡܬܒܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܘܪܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

XXI XXI. [3] "ܢܕܒܪܘܢ ܥܓܠܐ ܕܬܘܪܬܐ ܒܬܟܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ" ܕܪܒܝ ܦܠܓܐ ܘܡܘܬܐ ܐܘ. [4] "ܘܢܢܟܣܘܢܗ ܥܓܠܐ ܕܬܘܪܬܐ ܒܬܟܠܬܐ ܒܢܚܠܐ ܩܫܝܐ" ܒܥܠܡ ܒ ܘܐܝܟ ܗܢܘ. ܢܩܫܬܢܬܐ ܩܫܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܗ ܘܡܠܐ ܗܢܘ ܐܝܟ ܩܫܝܐ ܘܢܩܛܠ. ܡܦܩܢܐ "ܒܢܚܠܐ ܩܫܝܐ". [4] "ܘܢܩܛܠܘܢܗ" ܡܦܩܢܐ "ܘܢܚܢܩܘܢܗ" ܗ̄ ܐܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܟܠܬܐ ܕܬܟܠܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܐ ܦܠܚܬ ܐܦܠܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܝ ܐܬܦܠܚܬ ܘܒܢܝܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܝ ܡܦܠܚ. [12] "ܬܓܪܘܥ ܪܫܗ ܘܬܩܨܘܨ ܛܦܪ̈ܝܗ" ܗ̄ ܐܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܫܥܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܐ. [13] "ܘܬܒܟܐ ܥܠ ܐܒܘܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܡܗ

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2 ܡܢ: ܘܡܢ ps || ܡܪܟܒܬܐ gps || ܘܫܐܠ * || 4 ܡܢ <ܘ al || ܠܟ] ܠܗ a || 5 ܠܟ] ܐܝܟ gps || 6 ܘܪܚܡܬܗ <ܘ gps || 6 ܘܠܐ u || 7 ܕܐܣܗܕܘ <ܕ g || 7–8 ܥܘܠܐ ܒܠܘܗܝ after ܠܗ gps || 11 ܗ̄ + ܗܘܐ p || ܗ̄ + ܗܘ gps || 13 ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ + ܗܝ * || 14 ܕܐܬܪܐ s ܕܐܬܪܐ gp after ܐܘ || ܘܢܢܟܣܘܢܗ <ܘ s || ܘܢܢܟܣܘܢܗ au || ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ + ܗܝ * || 15 ܕܗܘ] + ܐܝܟ p || ܩܫܝܐ <S || 16 ܢܩܛܠ <ܘ g || 17 ܘܢܚܢܩܘܢܗ <ܘ s || 18 ܐܦܠܐ 2°] ܐܦ gps || 19 ܡܦܠܚ] ܦܠܚ s ||

ܚܙ̈ܘܢ ܡܩ̈ܕܡܝܢ ܘܡܬܕܪܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܘ̇'' ܗ̄ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܗ ܙܪܥ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ ܠܚܝ̈ܠܐ. [15]''ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܣܝ̈ܦܐ ܥܪܩܘ ܬܡܢ ܣܝܦܐ ܫܠܝܦܬܐ ܘܩܫܬܐ ܡܬܝܚܬܐ'' ܫܡܥܐ ܢܗ ܘܫܡܫܬܐ. [16]ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܒܪ ܕܫܘܡܠܝܐ . . . [17]ܐܠܐ ܫܪܟܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܦܩ ܥܕܡܐ ܡܢܗ̈ܘܢ'' ܗ̄ ܡܫܩܠܝܗܘܢ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܫܘܫܘ ܦܓܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܦ̈ܫܬܐ. [18]''ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܡܪ̈ܘܕܐ ܘܡܫܪܕܪܢܝܬܐ'' ܡܘܠܝܐ ''ܡܫ̈ܘܚܬܐ ܘܗܘ̈ܝܐ''. [23]''ܠܐ ܬܫܬܟܚ ܡܠܝܘ ܥܠ ܦܣܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܫܐ ܦܘܪ̈ܩܢܗܘܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܘܡܢܣܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܪܓܫ'' ܡܘܠܝܐ ܦܐܪ ''ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܒܗ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܠܒܐ ܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܥܠ ܦܣܐ'' ܒܦܪܐ ܦܐܬܠܬ ܠܒܫܐ ܢܚܘܡ'' ܕܐܡܪ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܠܗ ܦܣܐ. ܗ̄ ܥܠ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܦܩܪ ܡܠܒܫܘܗ ܫܒܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܠܒܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܚܙܬܗ ܠܐ ܦܪܡܗ ܘܠܐ ܚܕ ܪܫܐ ܒܫܒܩܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܠܘܗ. XXII. [5]''ܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܢܐܢܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܬܐ XXII

ܘܠܐ ܢܟܦ ܕܟܪܐ ܡܢܐܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܬܐ'' ܗ̄ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܪܝܢ ܣܠܩܐ ܒܫܟܢܗܘܢ. [6]''ܘܐܡܪ ܦܫܝܛܐ'' ܒܥܠܡ ܡܫܟ ܘܦܪܣ ܥܠܝܢ ܗܐ ''ܥܠ ܦܪ̈ܫܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܒܬܐ'' ܗ̄ ܥܠ ܓܒܐ [7]''ܐܠܐ ܡܥܪܩܘ ܐܦܪܣܘ ܠܐܡܐ ܘܒܬܪܗ ܦܫܛ ܠܗ'' ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܢܗܡܢ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܒܫܟܝܢܘܬ ܒܗܠܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܒܝ ܡܠܟܘܗ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܦܪܥܝܢ ܕܢܐܡܢ ܐܡܟܐ ܕܢܦܩܐ.

ܙܩܝܐ ܕܥܠܠܡܫܪ: [8]''ܠܥܠ ܥܡܘܕܐ ܠܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܟܚ ܡܠܘܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܒܫܒܥܐ'' ܗ̄ ܠܚܪܘܒܐ ܘܫܟܝܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܦܫܛ ܗܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ. [10]''ܠܐ ܬܬܪܥ ܦܘܪ̈ܢܐ ܒܬܪܐ ܘܫܡܝܢܐ ܐܫܝܐ'' ܗ̄ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܠܟܘܢ ܒܫܠܒܝܐ

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1 ܥܠܡܝܢ gps || 3 ܘܣܝܐ] ܘܐܣܝܬܐ gps || ܘܫܠܘܬܐ (=u) ܕܫܘܡܠܝܐ a || 6 ܡܢ > ܘ S || ܠܐܠܗܐ] ܠܐܠܗܐ * || 7–8 ܗܘ ܒܫܘܫܐ ܡܦܘܪܩܢܗܘܢ * || 8 ܦܘܪܩܢܗܘܢ g || ܦܛܝ > ܕ s || ܦܐܪ ܡܘܠܝܐ] ܗ̄ S || ܦܐܪ > s || 9 ܦܐܬܠܬ ps || 10 ܢܚܘܡ codd. || 13 ܡܢܐܢܐ] ܠܡܢܐܬܐ g || 16 ܒܬܒܐ gs || 17 ܐܢܐ]+ܠܐ gps || 18 ܕܠܐܣܐ S || 21 ܬܬܪܥ g || ܘܫܡܝܢܐ S

ܠܡܣܒܠܐ ¹³"ܘܬܫܩܠܝܗ̇... ¹⁴ܘܬܟܣܐ ܒܗ̇ ܢܦܩܬܟ ܥܩܠܐ" ܦܪܘܫ ܠܗ.
ܦܠܘܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܓܒܪ ܒܫܘܩ ܓܡܠܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܪܐ ܡܠܘ ܡܢ ܓܒܪ ܕܦܠܓܘܗ̇
XXIII ܡܢ ܓܘܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. XXIII. ²"ܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܦܪ ܓܘܪܐ ܠܟܢܘܫܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ
ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܩܪܒ" ܡܛܠܐ "ܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܡܢ ܐܘܡܬܐ ܠܥܕܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ"
ܗܘܦܟܗ "ܡܡܙܪܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩܘ
ܓܒܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܪܐ. ³"ܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܥܡܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܘܐܒܝܐ ܠܟܢܘܫܬܗ
ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܥܕܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ
ܕܗܘ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܠܗ ܦܬܠ ܕܟܕ ܠܐ ܗܝܡܢܐ ܡܫܬܕܪܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܡܫܡܐ.
⁴"ܡܛܠ ܕܐܓܪܘ ܥܠܝܟ ܠܒܠܥܡ ܒܪ ܒܥܘܪ ܡܢ ܦܬܘܪ ܠܡܠܛܝܟ".
⁶"ܠܐ ܬܒܥܐ ܠܫܠܡܗܘܢ ܘܠܛܒܬܗܘܢ" ܦܬܓܡ ܦܬܓܡ ¹⁰"ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ
ܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܠܠܝܐ" ܡܛܠܐ "ܡܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ" ¹³"ܘܡܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܐܢܬ
ܠܩܒܠ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܢܛܪ ܒܗ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܚܕܐ ܒܣܟܪܐ" ܡܛܠܐ
"ܒܡܫܪܝܟ" ܗܘܦܟܗ "ܢܛܪܝܟ" ¹⁸"ܠܐ ܬܥܠ ܐܓܪ ܙܢܝܬܐ ܘܕܡܝ
ܟܠܒܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܢܕܪ" ܗ̄ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ.
²⁰"ܠܐ ܬܪܒܐ ܠܐܚܘܟ ܟܣܦܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܛܠ ܕܬܬܦܢܐ
ܒܐܘܠܝ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܦܣܝܩ ܠܡܘܬܪܘ ܠܡܪܒܝܬܗ
XXIV ⁴"ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܒܥܠܗ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܢܗܦܘܟ ܢܣܒܝܗ̇" ܗ̄ XXIV.
ܗܕܐ ܗ̄ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ "ܡܢ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܓܐܪ. ܢܫܝܐ ܕܝܢ
ܕܡܬܦܠܓܢ ܕܗܢܐ ܠܡܬܩܢ ܢܥܝܢ. ܒܐܝܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܒܩ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܐܘ ܠܐ
ܢܣܒܝܗ̇ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܬܛܠܦ ܠܗ̇ ܘܐܬܢܣܒܬ ܠܐ ܡܨܐ ܕܢܗܦܟܝܗ̇

1 ܘܢܫܩܠܝܗ̇ S ‖ ܦܪܘܫ ܠܗ after ܘܬܟܣܐ gps ‖ 2 ܦܠܘܓ gps ‖ 3 ܓܘܪܐ l ‖ 4 ܡܛܠܐ—ܕܡܪܝܐ S >gps ‖ 7 ܕܥܠܡ+ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܟܢܘܫܬܗ ¤ ‖ 9 ܕܐܓܪܘ S ‖ 9 ܒܥܘܪ ¤ ‖ 14 ܟܠܒܐ ps ‖ ܗ̄ >S ‖ 15 ܗ̄ >gps ‖ 16 ܒܐܘܠܝ gps ‖ 17 ܠܡܪܒܝܬܗ: ¤ ‖ ܩܕܡܝܐ]+ܕܫܒܩܗ̇ ¤ ‖ 17 ܕܢܣܒܝܗ̇ gu ‖ 18 ܗ̄ >g ‖ Matt. 5:32 ‖ ܕܫܒܩ] : ܕܫܒܩ ¤.

ܢܚܡܢܘ. ܘܡܛܠܗܕܐ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܣܬܘܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܩܐܡ ܠܡܫܘܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ ܠܚܣܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܘܢܫܡܫܘܢ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܗ.

ܚܝܐ ܕܐܬܡܢܥ: [6]"ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܪ̈ܚܝܐ ܘܪܟܒܐ ܡܫܟܢܐ" ܗ̄ ܪ̈ܚܝܐ ܒܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܢ̈ܫܐ ܘܡܢܝܢܐ. ܘܪܟܒܐ ܒܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܠܒܘܗܝ. [10]"ܘܐܢ ܢܦܘܩ ܠܟ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܚܘܒܐ" ܡܛܠ ܠܗ. [15]"ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܡܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܠܗܘ ܐܝܟܘܗ" ܗ̄ ܒܗ ܒܝܘܡܗ. [16]"ܠܐ ܢܡܘܬܘܢ ܐܒ̈ܗܐ ܚܠܦ ܐܝܟ ܒ̈ܢܝܗܘܢ ܘܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܡܘܬܘܢ ܚܠܦ ܐܝܟ ܐܒ̈ܗܝܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܒܚܛܗܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܢܡܘܬ" ܗ̄ ܒܥܝܢ ܗܘ > ܕܦܩܕ ܚܘ̈ܒܐ ܕܐܒ̈ܗܐ ܥܠ ܒ̈ܢܝܐ ܥܠ ܬܠܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܠܣܢ̈ܐܝ < ܐܬܡܛܪܐ ܒܠܒܘܗܝ [20]"ܘܡܐ ܕܢܦܨ ܐܢܬ ܙܝܬܝܟ ܠܐ ܬܥܩܒ ܒܬܪܟ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܦܐܪ̈ܐ. ܠܡܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܥܩܒ ܒܬܪܟ. XXV. [3]"ܘܠܐ ܒܪ ܢܘܣܦܘܢ ܠܡܚܘܬܗ" ܡܦܣܩ XXV
ܦܣܩܐ ܘܐܘܣܦ ܕܠܘ "ܢܡܚܘܢ ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܚܘܬܐ" ܡܪܘܡ ܦܣܩܐ ܘܡܦܣܩ ܕܠܘ ܗ̄ ܡܡܚܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥܝܢ. "ܬܬܩܠܐ ܐܚܘܟ ܠܥܝܢܝܟ" ܡܛܠ ܡܛܠ. ܡܬܠܐ "ܬܒܗܬ" [4]"ܠܐ ܬܚܒܘܫ ܬܘܪܐ ܒܕܝܫܐ" ܡܬܠܐ "ܕܒܪܬܝ". "ܐܠܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܘ" ܡܦܣܩ ܒܗܕ. ܗ̄ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܚܒܠܬܗ "ܬܫܡܫܘ... ܡܢܫܡܫܢܘ" ܡܦܣܩ ܒܗܕ. [6]"ܘܡܘܪܒܐ ܕܢܦܠܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܚܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܟܢ ܡܝܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܡܫܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܢܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܢܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܐܒܘܗ [9]"ܬܫܪܘܦ ܢܥܠܗ" ܡܫܒܚ ܒܗܕ "ܘܬܪܩܐ ܡܚܫܘܗ ܡܢ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ" ܗ̄ ܐܦܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܫܘܬܐ ܐܬܡܢܥܬ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܪܚܩܬ ܠܒܠܗ. [9]"ܡܬܩܪܐ ܒܐܝܣܪܝܠ" ܗ̄ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܫܟܚܗ. [11]"ܘܐܬܡܫܟܢ

1 ܫܡܥܘܢ S || 2 ܘܬܪܝܢ >o g || 5 ܗܘ >gps || 6 ܚܘܒܐ after ܠܗ gps || 8 ܐܠܐ]+ ܟܠ a || 9–10 Deut. 5:9 || 12 ܒܪ >gps || 13 ܥܠ] ܡܢ al || 13–14 ܢܡܚܘܢ—ܕܠܘ >g || 14 ܡܢ >g || ܐܚܘܟ ܠܥܝܢܝܟ after ܡܛܠ gps || 16 ܡܫܡܫܢܘ s || 17 ܘܡܘܪܒܐ >o g || 18 ܗܘ ܗܘ ܘܡܫܢܝܐ s || 19 ܐܡܫܒܚܗ a || ܡܫܒܚܬܗ g || 20 ܐܬܡܢܥܬ S || ܠܗ] ܠܒܠܗ g.

ܐܡܪܗ ܠܐܢܫܘܗܝ ܒܫܡܗ. [12] ܗܟܘܬ ܐܡܪܗ" ܡܘܬܒܐ "ܠܐܪܡܠܬ ܦܩܘܕܗ". [13] "ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܒܡܙܪܘܕܟ ܡܬܩܠܐ ܘܡܬܩܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܠܐ ܒܪܒܐ ܢܙܒܢ ܘܒܙܥܘܪܐ ܢܙܒܢ. [15] "ܕܢܐܪܟܘܢ ܒܙܒܢܐ" ܡܢܟܝ ܠܟܢ ܘܦܠܣ ܢܦܠ "ܘܡܬܠ ܒܠ ܕܦܩ ܒܬܪܘܟܘܢ" ܒܥܠܡ ܥܠ

XXVI XXVI. [2] "ܘܫܩܘܠ ܡܫܘܢܝܬܐ" ܡܘܬܒܐ "ܒܩܘܪܒܢܐ" [6] "ܐܪܡܝ ܐܒܘܢ ܐܚܕ ܘܢܚܬ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ" ܡܘܬܒܐ "ܠܚܘܪܢܐ ܥܡܗ ܐܚܕ ܘܢܚܬ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ". [10] "ܘܬܣܝܡܝܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ" ܒܙܒܢ ܡܫܡܫ.

ܙܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܫܢ: [14] "ܠܐ ܐܟܠܬܗ ܡܢ ܛܡܐܐ ܐܢܐ" ܒܥܠܡ ܛܡܐ ܘܥܠܡ ܡܫܡܫ. ܗ̄ [13] <ܠܡܘܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ> "ܘܠܐ ܛܥܝܬ ܡܢܗ ܠܡܝܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܠܚܝܢ ܚܢܦܐ ܡܐܬܟܠܐ ܠܡܝܬܐ.

XXVII XXVII. [4] "ܘܫܢܐ ܕܒܬܪܟܘܢ ܡܘܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ ܦܢܝܢ ܘܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܟܠܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܝܒܠ ܘܐܟܠܝܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܒܝܬܐ. [5] ܘܒܢܐ ܠܟܝ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܠܐܠܗܟ" ܗ̄ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܐ ܕܫܠܡܝܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܪܙܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘ ܡܛܠܬܗ. ܒܐܝܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܪܙܝܡ ܩܡܘ ܠܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܐܡܪܢ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ. ܘܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܝܒܠ ܠܘܛܬܐ. ܘܐܡܬܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܘܛܬܐ ܩܡܘ ܕܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܚܐ. ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܘܛܬܐ ܡܠܗ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܫܠܝܛܝܢ ܥܠ ܚܛܝܐ. ܐܦ ܝܫܘܥ ܘܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܙܬ ܠܠܗ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܝܒܠ ܒܢܐ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܟܬܒܐ ܡܦܠܘܗܝ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܒܢܘܗ. [15] "ܠܝܛ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܓܠܝܦܐ ܘܢܣܝܟܐ" . . . ܒܟܣܝ ܐܡܢܐ ܕܢܓܪܐ ܘܢܣܝܡ ܒܛܫܝܐ" ܒܥܠܡ ܥܠ ܡܙܪܥܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܟܣܐ ܕܒܛܢܐ ܘܥܒ ܕܟܪܐ. ܡܘܬܒܐ "ܒܟܬܟܬܐ"

XXVIII XXVIII. [5] "ܒܚܝܡܐ"

1 ܒܫܡܝܗܘܢ s ‖ 4 ܘܥܡܗ ܕܥܠ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܡܛܠܗ a ‖ 6 ܡܘܬܒܐ—ܠܡܨܪܝܢ > g ‖ 7 ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ after ܡܫܡܫ ‖ ܡܫܡܫ]+ܡܫܡܫܬܐ g ‖ 8 ܘܠܐ * ‖ 12 ܠܟ] ܠܟܘܢ al ‖ ܐܠܝܢ] ܐܠܗ gps ‖ 13 ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ > l ‖ 14 ܐܝܟ—ܕܓܪܙܝܡ > g ‖ 15 ܒܘܪܟܬܗ s ‖ 15–16 ܠܘܛܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ gps ‖ 16 ܡܕܒܚܐ] ܒܥܠܬܐ gps ‖ 20 ܕܢܓܪܐ] ܕܓܒܪܐ a.

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ܒܐܘܪܚܐ "[7] "ܡܦܢܩܝܢ ܡܥܩܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܪܡܫܝܢ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܫܚܩܝܢ ܘܐܪܩܝܢ" ܚܙܐ ܕܥܡܡܝ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܘܡܥܡܠ ܐܘܣܦ ܢܬܪܡܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܘܦܛܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܡܚܦܪܐ ܗ̄ "ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܡܚܦܪܐ ܘܠܘܬܟ" [12] ܐܘܣܟܬܗܘܢ ܢܬܢܬܚܘܢ ܡܬܬܪܥܢܐ ܘܠܗ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. [13] "ܬܟܣܝܢ ܡܢܡܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܘܒܠܥܒܐ" ܥܒܕܬ ܒܗ.

ܗܢܐ ܕܡܦܫܩܢ: [24] "ܢܛܠ ܡܢܡܐ ܡܚܦܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܝܢ ܐܟܡܐ" ܥܒܕܬ ܠܥ ܘܡܠܟ ܒܗ ܡܬܕܒܪܐ. ܡܘܠܐ "ܫܠܐ". [26] "ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܫܟܝܢ ܡܬܕܒܠܐ ܠܥܡܘܠܐ ܕܡܥܡܠܐ ܡܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܚܐ. ܘܠܗ ܕܥܒܝܕܝܢ" ܒܗ ܥܒܕ. [27] "ܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܢܡܐ ܒܡܘܚܠܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܪܬܗ ܡܪܬܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܐܠܗܝܐ. "ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܟܘܒܫܬܐ ܕܗܕܪܐ. "ܘܒܚܝܪܬܐ" ܒܪܘܝܢ ܒܗ "ܘܟܢܫܬܐ" ܥܒܕܬ ܒܗ. ܗ̄ ܕܩܡܬܐ. [28] "ܬܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܢܡܐ ܒܡܥܡܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܒܕܐ ܘܒܡܬܕܡܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܥܡܠܢܘܬܐ ܥܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܕܡܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ". [30] "ܒܪܡܫܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܬܢܝܚ ܡܛܠܗ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܬܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܬܐܝܢ". [31] "ܫܦܝܪ ܢܛܪ ܡܢܝ ܒܡܚܦܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܥܘܠܐ ܠܝ" ܥܒܕܬ ܗܐ. [32] "ܘܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܦܘܢ ܒܐܢܫܝ" ܗ̄ ܕܐܪܥܢ ܒܢܝ ܘܒܢܝܢ ܕܒܢܝܢܢ [40] "ܡܚܦܠ ܕܢܛܘܪܝ" ܥܒܕܬ ܬܘ "ܐܢܫܝ". [48] "ܘܢܛܠ ܢܗܪܐ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܦܠܓܪܐ" "ܕܡܪܐ ܠܟ ܪܘܚ". [50] "ܠܚܕܐ ܕܢܦܩܢ ܐܩܘܗܝ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܕܢܗܘܡܝ" [56] "ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܟܬܐ ܒܗ ܘܡܥܠܝܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܟܠܘܝܬܐ. [57] "ܘܒܫܒܝܠܗ ܕܢܦܩܐ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܗ" ܡܘܠܐ "ܒܢܝ ܟܠܒܚܬܗ" ܗ̄ ܬܐܘܒܬܗ ܒܥܒܕܗ. [59] "ܡܬܘܐ ܕܪܘܚܝ ܘܡܬܪܡܪܡܢܝܢ" ܗܘܡܬܡܘܬ "ܘܡܬܟܬܪܝܢ".

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3 ܕܡܠܟ] ܕܐܬܟ ⁎ || 4 ܡܢܡܐ > S || ܕܢܛܪܬܐ a || 6 ܡܢܡܐ > gps || 9 ܬܥܒܕܝܢ ⁎ 10 ܘܡܫܘܚܬܐ pS || 11 ܬܢܥܒܕܝܢ g ⁎ || 13–14 ܬܬܢܝܚ—ܘܠܐ > p || 13 ܡܛܠܗ] ܡܛܪܗ l || 15 ܘܐܬܪܐ]+ ܠܝ S || 19 ܘܡܥܠܝܬܐ u || 21 ܗܘܡܬܡܘܬ] ܡܘܠܐ gps.

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ܙܢܝܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢ: [65]"ܒܥܐ ܐܘܟܐ" ܗܠܝܢ "ܡܟܟܬܐ" "ܘܫܡܥܐ ܕܟܬܢܐ" ܗܠܝܢ "ܟܬܢܐ ܕܡܕܘܫܢ" "ܘܙܘܡܬܐ ܕܠܥܣܐ" ܗܠܝܢ ܘܠܥܣܐ ܕܡܫܚܐ". [68]"ܘܢܗܦܟܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܒܐܠܦܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܣܦܝܢܬܐ. ܒܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܢܬܬܡܨܝܐ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܙܒܢܝܢ ܒܗ ܢܙܒܢܘܢ. XXIX XXIX. [11]"ܡܢ ܠܩܛܝ ܩܝܣܝܟ ܘܥܕܡܐ ܠܡܠܐ ܡܝܟ" ܗ̄ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܪܒܘܬܐ ܕܥܡ. [18]"ܕܠܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܘܢ ܥܩܪܐ ܕܡܥܒܕܐ ܡܪܪܬܐ ܘܓܘܙܐ" ܒܪܫ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܡܘܡܐ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܠܚܡ. ܗܠܝܢ "ܡܪܪܬܐ". [19]"ܘܡܐ ܕܢܫܡܥ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܡܘܡܬܐ ܗܕܐ" ܒܠܒܗ ܡܬܪܚܪ ܐܣܬܡܐ ܚܝܠܬܗ. ܗܠܝܢ "ܕܠܒܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ". "ܘܢܗܘܐ ܫܠܡܐ" ܒܡܠܬܐ ܐܘ "ܒܠܒ ܨܒܝܢܝ" ܗ̄ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܝܬܝܪܐ ܠܥܡܗ. ܘܫܠܡܐ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܐܘ ܫܦܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܗܡܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ ܐܘ ܠܗ ܡܪܘܪܬܐ. ܘܫܠܡܐ ܒܪܥܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܚܠܝܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܚܫܒܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ. [23]"ܘܠܐ ܢܣܩ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܥܣܒ" ܒܪܫ ܫܒܝܒܐ ܘܡܘܡܐ ܒܗܐ. ܗܠܝܢ "ܡܚܘܪܐ" ܫܘܟܠܘܫ "ܠܡܠܚܐ". "ܘܐܝܟ ܐܘܟܠܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܨܒܘܐܝܡ ܕܗܦܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܐ "ܒܚܡܬܗ ܗܐ [26]"ܠܟܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ" ܒܥܒܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܝܢ. [29]"ܟܣܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܓܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܘܕܒܢܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ. XXX XXX. [6]"ܡܓܙܪ ܕܠܒܟ" ܒܥܒܕܬܐ ܕܫܒܝܚ.

ܙܢܝܐ ܕܐܬܡܠܠܘ: [11]"ܡܓܙܪ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܦܩܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ" ܗܘܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܐ ܡܠܝܢ" ܒܒܠܝ ܗܐ. ܗܠܝܢ "ܠܐ ܡܟܣܝ ܡܠܝܢ" ܐܘܠܝܫ "ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܡܠܝܢ" "ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܪܚܝܩ ܡܠܝܢ." [12]"ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܠܗ ܢܣܩ ܠܢ" ܒܥܠܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܪܒܢ ܫܡܥܢ

1 ܗܠܝܢ >p || 2 ܟܬܢܐ 2⁰ >S || 5 ܥܕܡܐ >ܘ S || 6 ܠܪܒܘܬܐ gps || ܡܪܪܬܐ s ܡܪܝܪܬܐ a || 7 ܡܪܪܐ gp || 9 ܕܠܒܝܬ a || 10 ܘܫܠܡܘܬܐ—ܐܘ >s || 11 ܐܘ ܠܗ ܡܪܘܪܬܐ >gps || 12 ܒܗ gp || 14 ܐܠܗܐ l || ܡܪܝܐ >a || 17 ܕܢܣܝܪ a, ܕܢܐܣܝܪ S, ܕܢܫܝܪ l || 19 ܡܠܝܢ 2⁰ and 20 1⁰ >gps, ܡܠܝܢ 2⁰ >ܡ.

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"ܠܡܟܢܐ ܘܠܫܡܫܘܬ ܟܠ" [18] "ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ" ܒܥܠܝ ܗܘ "ܡܟܣܪܐ
ܕܡܟܐ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܛܠ ܢܓܒܪ ܟܠ" ܒܪܫܝ ܠܗ "ܠܡܟܣܪܐ ܕܡܟܐ
ܘܠܫܡܫܘܬ ܟܠ" [19] "ܢܫܡܕܬ ܒܗܘ ܡܘܟܠܢܐ ܡܟܝܢܐ ܘܐܪܟܐ
ܥܡܐ ܘܢܒܥܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܠܘܪܝܬܐ ܡܢܒܥܝܢ. XXXI. [10] "ܒܝܒܠܐ XXXI
ܕܢܦܠܐ ܕܡܘܒܥܠܐ ܒܝܕܐܪܐ ܕܡܕܗܟܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܦܬܚ ܕܠܐܡܪܐ ܠܡܫܗܐ ܟܠ
ܢܡܣ ܒܡܟܐ. [17] "ܡܕܡܝܟ ܕܟܠܗ ܠܗܘ ܒܢܦܫ ܐܐܟܠ ܢܟܠܝܢ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ
ܒܬܡܠܐ" ܒܐܡܥ ܒܐ. [21] "ܘܡܟܐ ܕܡܕܡܝܟ ܐܠܗ ܒܬܡܠܐ ܫܘܬܠܬܐ"
ܒܥܠܣ ܡܡܫܡ ܘܡܘܒܝ ܢܡܠ. "ܡܕܡܝܟ ܕܢܦܫ ܐܠܐ ܡܪܘܗܝ" ܡܠܠܢܐ
"ܒܡܫܬܗܘܢ" ܫܘܡܠܘܬ "ܢܥܒܕܘܢ" ܬܐܘܪܝܘܢ "ܐܪܟܗܘܢ".
ܙܢܐ ܕܬܡܫܪ: XXXII. [1] "ܙܘܬܫ ܡܥܡܢܐ ܘܐܦܟܠܟ XXXII
ܡܬܡܟܒ ܐܪܟܐ ܡܕܐܡܪܗ ܕܥܘܡܒ" ܗ̄ ܠܟܠܬܗܘܢ ܫܒܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܒܠ
ܦܪܐ ܠܫܘܕܬܐ. [2] "ܬܪܫܡ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܗܪܐ ܡܡܠܥܠ. ܘܝܫܡܬ ܐܝܟ ܢܡܠܐ
ܡܐܡܪܢ" ܒܥܠܣ ܡܡܫܡ. ܗ̄ ܒܠ ܐܪܐ ܒܥܐ. [4] "ܠܗܘ ܗܘ ܡܡܫܡܟܢܐ
ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܠܐ" ܒܥܠܝ ܗܘ. [5] "ܢܒܠܗ" ܗ̄ ܠܥܡܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܡܠܝܢ
ܦܠܡܪܐ. "ܘܠܐ ܠܗ ܒܬܡܐ ܕܡܘܡܟܐ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܚܫܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܒܬܘܗܝ.
ܡܠܠܐ "ܫܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܒܬܡܐ ܕܡܘܡܟܐ" ܐܡܠܐܫ "ܢܒܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܐ
ܗܘܐ ܒܬܡܐ ܕܡܠܗ" ܫܘܡܠܘܫ "ܢܒܠܗ ܠܟܬܗ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܬܡܐ ܕܡܠܗ
ܒܠ ܡܠܗ". [8] "ܡܢ ܡܥܟܒ ܡܢܡܟܐ ܠܡܠܗ" ܡܠܠܢܐ "ܠܡܟܢܐ".
"ܡܢ ܡܥܟܒ ܒܠܬܠܡܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܢ ܥܟܒ ܠܡܬܠܐ ܒܥܒܡܠ. "ܐܡܒܪ
ܬܫܘܡܐ ܕܠܡܟܢܐ ܠܡܟܢܠܐ ܕܒܬܐ ܡܥܪܐܡܠ" ܡܠܠܐ "ܐܝܟ ܡܟܠܢܐ

1 ܟܠ >gps ‖ ܘܠܐ] ܕܠܐ gps ‖ 2 ܡܛܠ] ܡܢܝ a ‖ 5 ܕܡܕܗܟܠܐ s ‖ 6 ܡܕܡܝܟ] ܡܟܐ 1 ‖ a ܡܠܟܢܐ [ܘܡܟܐ] ‖ gps ܐܐܟܠ after ܒܐܡܥ ܒܐ 7 ‖ 10 >a ܒܬܡܠܐ ‖ auS ܠܟܠܗ ‖ ܫܘܬܠܬܐ >gps ‖ 8 ܒܥܠܣ ܡܡܫܡ after ܕܡܕܡܝܟ ps ‖ ܢܡܠ ܘܡܘܒܝ after ܒܬܡܠܐ p ‖ 7–8 ܘܡܟܐ—ܡܡܫܡ >g ‖ 10 ܙܘܬܫ lu ‖ 12 ܢܡܠܐ S ‖ 13 ܐܪܟܐ S ‖ 14 ܠܗܘܐ after ܗܘ gps ‖ 16 ܠܗ ܠܗ s ‖ 18 ܠܡܟܢܐ π.

ܘܡܬܠܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ" ܗ̄ ܟܠܗ ܥܡܐ ܡܬܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܬܦܪܢܣܢܘܬܗ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܠܐ ܡܠܘܐܐ. [12]"ܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܕܒܪܗ̇" ܒܥܒܕ ܥܡܗ. [13]"ܐܝܢܩܗ ܕܒܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܘܡܫܚܐ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܛܪܢܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܩܫܝܫܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܝܢܩܝܢ ܡܬܝܢܩܐ ܠܘܬ ܬܕܝܐ ܕܐܡܗ̈ܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܛܥܡܐ ܘܒܣܝܡܐ. [14]"ܚܠܒ ܬܘܪܐ ܘܫܘܡܢܐ ܕܚܛ̈ܐ" ܗ̄ ܚܛܝܐ. [15]"ܘܒܥܛ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ" ܡܛܠܐ "ܗܘ ܣܒܝܥܐ" "ܘܐܟܠ ܫܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܚ" ܦܪܫ ܗܘܐ. [16]"ܘܐܛܢܘܗ ܒܢܘܟܪܝܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܫܐܕܐ. [17]"ܕܒܚܘ ܠܫܐܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ" ܒܥܒܕܝ ܗ̇. "ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܛܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܠܐ ܥܡܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܘܒܒܒܠܝܐ ܘܡܨܪܝܐ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ. [25]"ܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܬܬܟܠ ܚܪܒܐ ܘܡܢ ܬܘܢܐ ܕܣܘܟܠܐ". [27]"ܠܗܘ ܠܐ ܪܘܓܙܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܝܢ" ܐܡܬܝܠ "ܠܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܬܢܝܚܘܬܐ". [28]"ܡܛܠ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܝܕ" ܒܥܒܕܐ ܥܡܗ "ܬܪܥܝܬܗ" ܗ̄ ܗܘܢܗ ܕܒܠܝܥ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܚܪܝܦ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܦܟܬܗ ܡܢܗ ܒܡܠܬܗ. [32]"ܘܡܢ ܩܘ̈ܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܘܪܐ" ܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܢܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܘܥܡܢܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܣܪܘܢܬܐ [33]"ܘܚܡܬܐ ܕܬܢܝܢܐ ܚܡܬܐ" ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠܐ "ܕܐܬܦܝܣ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐܣܝܐ" ܗ̄ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܐ ܠܡܠܐ [41]"ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܗ ܐܝܟܢ" ܗ̄ ܐܚܪܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܪܒܐ. [48]"ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ [49]ܣܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܕܢܒܘ" ܗ̄ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܝܬ.

XXXIII ܕܝܢܐ ܕܒܪܘܟܝܢ: XXXIII. [2]"ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܣܝܢܝ ܐܬܐ ܘܕܢܚ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܣܥܝܪ ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܦܐܪܢ" ܗ̄ ܚܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܡܬܥܒܕ

1 ܐܝܟ+ܠܗ gps || 2 ܒܠܚܘܕ s || 4 ܗ̇ܠܝܢ S || 7 ܘܐܛܢܘܗ>ܘ ✱ || 8 ܠܐܠܗܐ after ܗܘܐ gps || 9 ܒܐܬܘܪܝܐ gs || ܘܒܒܒܠܝܐ gp || ܘܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ s || ܘܡܨܪܝܐ gp || ܘܡܢ gps || 10 ܬܘ̈ܢܐ gu ܬܘܢܘܬܐ a || ܘܡܠܗ g || 12 ܬܪܥܝܬܗ Ss || 13 ܗܘ 2⁰>gps || ܡܢ>ܘ gp, ܘܠܝ s || 14 ܕܥܡܘܪܐ after ܐܣܪܘܢܬܐ gps || ܠܗ>S || 16 ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܗܘܢ gp ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܗܘܢ s || 16 ܐܢܐ>S || 17 ܗܢܐ>s || ܗ̄>gps.

ܦܠܛܗ ܡܬܡܫܠܚܝܢ ܡܬܩܢܝܢܘܗܝ. ܘܡܬܕܪܫܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܬܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܬܝܕܥܬܐ ܡܬܠܬܗ. [3]"ܡܢܗ ܠܟܘܢ.. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܫܡ ܐܠܘ ܠܠܬܡܢܐ" ܒܥܬܣ ܠܗܒ. [5]"ܘܠܗܘܐ ܒܡܫܪܐܠ ܦܠܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܥܠܡܐ ܡܥܒܕܐ. [6]"ܢܚܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܥܘܠ" ܗ̄ ܠܡܬܥܒܕܢ ܠܗ ܫܒܥܬܘܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܢܥ. ܘܗܕܐ ܗܢ ܕܡܬܘܡܐ ܡܢܗ ܣܓܝܐ ܠܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܡܥܒܕܐ. [7]"ܡܥܒܕ ܡܢܝܐ ܒܥܠܬܗ ܕܡܘܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܗܝܟܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܥܒܪܬܗ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܘܦܢܝܐ ܠܥܡܬ ܡܬܕܪܬܗܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܗܢ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܒܢܝܫܗܘܢ ܡܬܗܦܟ. ܠܥܠܡܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܢܝܢ ܡܢܗܝܢ. ܘܒܬܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒ ܘܐܬܬܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܣܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܢܬܦܪܢܣ ܥܕܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܛܠܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ. ܘܪܡܙ ܢܦܩܗ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܦܢܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘ ܢܘܢ ܝܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܩܠܐ ܡܢܡܪ ܣܠܩ ܡܢ ܕܡܝܐ. [8]"ܘܐܠܠܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܡܬܩܠܠܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܦܓܪܐ ܢܦܫܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܦܐ ܠܐܬܢܝܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܠܢܝܫ ܡܘܬܐ. [9]"ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܐܡܗ. ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬܗ" ܗ̄ ܠܐ ܢܥܒ ܥܠܦ ܐܣܬܠܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܒܚܠܬ ܩܢܝܢ. [12]"ܘܡܢܬ ܡܬܦܩܬܗ ܬܡܪܐ" ܗ̄ ܡܢܝܐ ܒܗܢ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܡܢܬܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܒܢܝܡܝܢ.

[13]"ܘܡܢ ܬܗܘܡܐ ܕܪܘܝܚܐ" ܡܛܠܐ "ܬܗܘܡܐ ܕܡܬܝܒܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ".

[14]"ܘܡܢ ܐܦܐ ܕܓܠܠܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ" ܡܛܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܬܩܠܥܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ"

"ܘܡܢ ܐܦܐ ܕܢܡܬܐ ܦܗܪܐ" ܡܛܠܐ "ܘܡܢ ܡܠܘܫܐ ܕܡܬܪܫܐ".

[18]"ܢܣܒ ܐܦܠܘܢ ܒܦܬܝܩܘ" ܗ̄ ܒܢ ܢܥܡ ܐܠܗ ܠܡܒܐܬܐ ܒܬܐܘܪܥܢ ܕܠܗ ܢܡܐ. "ܘܐܝܬܘܢ ܒܦܬܬܠܝܢ" ܗ̄ ܒܗܘܪܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ. [19]"ܘܡܠܐ ܕܦܥܠܐ ܕܡܬܡܠܐ ܢܐܬܘܢ" ܒܢܒܝܘ ܠܗ. ܡܛܠܐ "ܬܐܘܠܦ". "ܘܦܠܥܐ

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1 ܦܠܛܗ s ‖ 2 ܗܘ] ܗܘ gps ‖ ܐܦ > ܘ gps ‖ 3 ܒܥܬܣ ܠܗܒ after ܐܢܫܡ (2) gps ‖ 4 ܢܡܐ 1S ‖ 11 ܡܢ > g ‖ 12 ܠܦܓܪܢ gps ‖ 14 ܒܥܠܬ s ‖ 15 ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܗܘ s ‖ 16 ܘܪܘܝܚܐ a ‖ 17 ܘܡܢ > ܘ (2°) S ‖ 18 ܕܗܦܪܐ ܡܬܦܩܬܐ s ‖ 19 ܐܦܠܘܢ l ‖ ܒܬܐܘܪܥܢ gps ‖ 21 ܕܡܬܡܠܐ > gps.

ܕܛܡܝܪܝ ܒܚܠܐ" ܗ̄ ܒܢܝ ܫܘܚܠܐ ܕܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܥܒܪܝ ܘܡܬܒܠܥܝܢ. ܫܘܡܠܡܘܗܝ "ܒܥܠ ܡܥܩܬܐ ܕܡܬܛܡܪܝܢ ܒܚܠܐ" ²⁰"ܡܒܪܟ ܕܦܬܐ ܠܓܕ ܦܬܝܐ" ܗ̄ ܝܪܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܚܝܘܗܝ ܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ. ²¹"ܡܛܠ ܕܬܡܢ ܡܛܡܪܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܒܚܐ" ܗ̄ ܬܡܢ ܩܒܝܪ ܡܘܫܐ. ²²"ܕܢ ܓܘܪܐ ܕܐܪܝܐ ܕܢܫܘܪ ܡܢ ܡܬܢܢ" ܗ̄ ܒܢܝ ܫܡܫܘܢ ܓܢܒܪܐ. ²³"ܢܦܬܠܝ ܣܒܥ ܡܢ ܪܓܝܓܬܐ" ܗ̄ ܐܬܒܛܝ ܡܢ ܛܒܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܓܝܪܐ. ²⁴"ܘܢܛܒܠ ܒܡܫܚܐ ܪܓܠܗ" ܗ̄ ܐܬܪ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ²⁵"ܘܐܦ ܫܩܝܐ ܦܪܙܠܐ ܢܚܫܐ" ܡܘܢܐ ܐܦ ܫܩܝܐ ܠܟ ܕܡܬܚܡܝܢ ܒܚܝܠܐ. ²⁹"ܢܬܕܓܠܘܢ ܠܟ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ" ܗ̄ ܟܕ ܢܕܓܠܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܩܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܒܠܥܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܕܪܘ ܡܠܐܟܐ.

XXXIV XXXIV. ⁶"ܘܩܒܪܘܗ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܘܐܒ" ܡܘܬܐ "ܘܩܒܪܘܗܝ" ܗ̄ ܡܠܐܟܐ. "ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܩܒܪܗ" ܡܘܬܐ "ܫܘܠܡܗ" "ܕܡܬܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܐ". ⁷"ܠܐ ܥܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܡܪܛܘ ܦܟܘܗܝ" ܗ̄ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܥܘܗܪܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܬܒܪܝܘ ܗܘܘ. ⁸"ܘܫܠܡܘ" ܒܟܠ ܗܢܝ "ܝܘܡܝ ܒܟܝܐ ܘܐܒܠܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ" ܗ̄ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ¹⁰"ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܩܡ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܘܫܐ" ܗ̄ ܕܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܣܬܥܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܚ ܐܬܐ.

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1 ܒܢܝ] ܒܢ ܡܢ gps ‖ 2 ܡܒܪܟ l ‖ 4 ܦܠܓܘܬܐ a ‖ 6 ܡܢ 1°] >ᵖ ‖ 6 ܘܪܓܠܗ gps ‖ 7 ܐܦ >ܘ gps ‖ ܫܩܝܐ apsu ‖ ܢܚܫܐ lS ‖ 8 ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ S ‖ 12 ܐܬܡܪܛܘ l ‖ 13 ܦܟܘܗܝ a ‖ 15 ܐܝܟ ܡܘܫܐ >l ‖ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ >S ‖ 16–17 ܐܬܐ—ܥܠܝܗ >p, ܘܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܕܪܘܚ + ܐܬܐ S, + ܫܘܡ ܕܪܘܚ ܘܐܠܗܐ g, + ܘܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ s.

Translation.

Now follows the book of the repetition of the law, the fifth book of the Pentateuch; twenty chapters.—Introduction. So says the title: he repeats in this book all that is contained in the second, third and fourth books, and this is for four reasons. First, that also the second generation as well as the first generation may hear the law from his mouth. Second, that they may easily, and in short see the beauty of the acts of God and their own wickedness; and on that account, he comprehended all together in the one Song of praise, "Hear, O heaven, and I will speak." Third, that he may show the evil of the sins of the Hebrews, therefore on that account must he repeat his teaching. Fourth, that he may teach the prophets who came after him, that they may not grieve to repeat the admonition to a hard-necked people.

I Chapter *one*. I. [1]"These are the words which Moses spoke to all
Israel on this side of the Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain opposite
the Red sea between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and
Dizahab," *i. e.*, It is maintained that this book also is written by Moses
and no other has abridged his teaching. [3]"And it happened in the
fortieth year," *i. e.*, In the same year that he died, he said this. [5]"Moses
began to declare this law," *i. e.*, He made it, that it might be easy to
repeat. [7]"In the hills, and in the valley," *i. e.*, The hollow of the mountain.
Greek: *καὶ (εἰς) πεδίον.* [44]"And chased you, as bees driven out
by smoke," *i. e.*, Which sting those who drive the bees out of their
II homes by smoke. II. [1]"And we went around mount (Seir)" rêš with
rebâṣâ (ܘܐܬܟܪܟܢܢ).

Chapter *two*. [5]"(Not) so much as a foot's breadth." Greek: *βῆμα
ποδός*. [6]"Buy food from them," bêth with rebâṣâ as imperative (ܙܒܢܘ).
[8]"From Elath." [11]"But the Moabites call them Emims," *i. e.*, Giants.
Greek: *'Ομμιείν*. [12]"The Horites also dwelt in Seir." [20]"And the Ammonites
call them Zamzummims," *i. e.*, (?) constant (is a meaning of the word).
[23]"And the Avites who dwelt in Hazerim as far as Azzah." Greek: *ἕως
Γάζης*. "The Caphtorites who came from Cappadocia." [26]"The wilder-
III ness of Kedemoth. III. [9]"The Sidonians" Greek: *οἱ Φοίνικες* "call
Hermon, Sirion." [10]"As far as Salchah," kâf with qušâjâ (ܣܠܟܐ).
"His bed was a bed of iron," *i. e.*, of Og. "It is in Rabbath of the
children of Ammon." Greek: *ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν υἱῶν 'Αμμάν*, *i. e.*, When Og
had subdued the Ammonites he occupied the stronghold and erected his
bed in it. "Nine cubits was its length, and four cubits its breadth, according
the cubit of a giant," *i. e.*, The strength of Og is from this apparent.
[13]"And all the region of Argob" with the elision of the letter âlaf
(ܐܪܓܘܒ) and zeqâfâ rêš.

Chapter *three:* [17]"Geshur and Maachath ... [17]Ashdoth and Pisgah,"
IV *i. e.*, a quarry. IV. [19]"Lift not your eyes to heaven, or do not look at
the sun, or the moon, or the stars, even all the host of heaven, and do
not err, do not worship them, and do not serve those whom the Lord

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your God has divided," pê with petâḥâ (ܕܦܰܠܶܓ), Greek: ἀπένειμε with vowelless pê (ܕܦܪܶܫ), "into all nations under the heaven," *i. e.*, because the heathen have not understood that one must honor the creator more than the thing created; as Paul said (Rom. 1:28), "God gave them over to a reprobate mind"; for he did not with force compel the free will to honor him. [20] "And brought you out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt," *i. e.*, out of great affliction. [24] "For the Lord your God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God." [26] "You shall utterly be destroyed," mîm with ḥebâṣâ (ܡܺܐܒܰܕ). [30] "And when all these things have come upon you." Greek: καὶ εὑρήσουσί σε πάντες οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι.

Chapter *four:* [43] "Bezer . . . Ramoth in Gilead . . . Golan," *i. e.*, These are three cities of refuge beyond the Jordan, and the three others
are in the land of Canaan. V. [21] "Neither shall you covet your neigh- V
bour's wife," *i. e.*, he commanded, not to remove the lust which is implanted by nature, and which burns in men, but that one should not execute it in fact and not increase it through provoking thoughts. [31] "To possess it," mîm with ḥebâṣâ (ܠܡܺܐܪܬܳܗ).

Chapter *five:* VI. [18] "Fear the Lord your God, and honor him, and VI
swear by his name," *i. e.*, he does not incite to swear, but only when one is compelled (may he swear); but he may not swear by other gods.
VII. [5] "Cut down their groves," *i. e.*, break to pieces the gods, the work VII
of their hands. [22] "Do not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase against you," *i. e.*, that they may need the help of God continually, he does not immediately destroy their enemies; then he
would be able to destroy the wild beast. VIII. [2] "Behold, these forty VIII
years in the wilderness, to humble you, and to prove you, to know what was in your heart," *i. e.*, Not as if he did not know that, but that he might show the future generations their evil transgressions. [3] "That he might show you that man does not live by bread only, but man lives by everything which the mouth of the Lord produces," *i. e.*, They live by his nod. [4] "Your clothing was not destroyed upon you, neither were your feet bare, these forty years. Greek: οὐκ ἐτυλώθησαν, *i. e.*, you lacked neither clothing nor shoes during this whole space of time.

Chapter *six:* [9] "A land, the stones of which are iron," *i. e.*, from the stones of it, iron is melted. "And out of the hills of which you may dig
brass." Greek: μεταλλεύσεις χαλκόν. IX. [17] "And I broke them (the IX
tablets) before your eyes," tau with rebâṣâ (ܬܒܺܪܬ). [21] "And I ground it (the calf) very small," qôf with rebâṣâ (ܕܐܬܕܩܺܩ). "And I cast its dust."

Chapter *seven:* X. [6] "And the children of Israel journeyed from X
Beeroth of the children of Iaakan to Mosera: there Aaron died." XI. XI
[28] "To their horses, and to their chariots, and to their charioteers," rêš with zeqâfâ and vowelless aspirated kâf (ܘܠܡܪܳܟ݂ܒܳܬܗܘܢ). [28] "And if you turn aside from the way," tau with rebâṣâ (ܬܶܣܛܘܢ). [29] "Lay the blessing upon mount Gerizim," *i. e.*, where the Lord has chosen a

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sanctuary for himself, "And the curses upon mount Ebal," *i. e.*, where the idols are.

XII Chapter *eight:* XII. [9] "For you have not yet come," mîm with petâḥâ (ܡܰܛܝܬܘܢ). [13] "Take heed to yourself that you offer not your burnt offerings in every place where you will," *i. e.*, but only in Jerusalem. [15] "The unclean and the clean eat together," *i. e.*, he calls in this place, impure, the faulty which is not fit for offering, "as for example, the roebuck, and the deer," *i. e.*, these are eaten but not offered, although they are not faulty. [19] "Take heed to yourselves that you do not forsake the Levite so long as you live upon the earth," *i. e.*, you shall not neglect him. [20] "When the Lord your God shall have enlarged your border,"
XIII rêš with petâḥâ (ܢܪܰܘܚ). XIII. [1] "And when a prophet shall rise among you," *i. e.*, a false prophet, "or a dreamer of dreams, and gives you a sign or a wonder," *i. e.*, listen not to him, when he takes you after many gods, for such a one cannot give a sure sign, but rather is it a diabolical deception. [8] "You shall not agree with him, nor hear him," *i. e.*, you shall not receive his persuasion. ܐܬܛܦܝܣ with ṭêth and Greek pê, that is construed ܦܝܣ ܦܝ ܦܝܣ, then is one in agreement with the other. From that comes πεῖσις, and ܐܬܬܦܝܣ with tau and aspirated pê is construed ܦܝܣ ܠܦܝܣ, one is persuaded and receives his persuasion.

Chapter *nine:* [14] "Inquire, and make search, and ask carefully," *i. e.*, you shall not speak a hasty opinion. [15] "Strike down with the edge of the sword," *i. e.*, kill with the sword and dagger, "destroy it utterly,"
XIV *i. e.*, tear down the buildings. XIV. [1] "Do not gesture wildly," *i. e.*, do not be like a wild ass. Greek: οὐ φοιβήσετε. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion: οὐ κατατεμεῖσθε. [5] "ܝܰܚܡܘܪܐ," *i. e.*, a wild ox, "ܝܰܥܠܐ" it is greater than the elephant and has horns, and the lion is afraid of it. "ܪܝܡܐ" it is similar to a large gazelle and has one horn. The Greek calls it καμηλοπάρδαλιν, "ܕܝܫܘܢ" it is a wild sheep, "ܬܐܘܐ," *i. e.*, a wild goat. [7] "Those whose feet are cloven." Greek: (ἀπὸ τῶν) ὀνυχιζόντων
XV ὀνυχιστῆρας. XV. [7] "You shall not harden your heart," ʿê with petâḥâ (ܬܰܥܫܢ), the Nestorians tau with petâḥâ. [17] "Take an awl, and bore it through his ear upon the door, and he shall be your slave forever," *i. e.*, if he does not wish to go free in the seventh year. [21] "If it is lame or blind," with vowelless ḥêt and ʿê (ܚܓܝܪ, ܥܘܝܪ).

XVI Chapter *ten:* XVI. [2] "Kill the passover to the Lord your God from the flock and the herd," *i. e.*, a lamb, but not an ox shall be killed at the passover, perhaps yet he permitted an ox as ordinary food at the passover, and it is from that known that he said "cook and eat," and it is clear that the sacrifice of the passover is roasted and not boiled. [5] "You may not sacrifice the passover within any of your cities which the Lord your God gives you: [6] But at the place in which the Lord your God shall choose to place his name," *i. e.*, Since that time, the Jews could offer their sacrifice only in Jerusalem. [9] "When you begin to put the sickle to the corn." Greek: ἀρξαμένου σου δρέπανον ἐπ' ἀμητόν.

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"Do not plant for yourself sprouts of any trees by the side of the altar of the Lord your God," *i. e.*, do not be like the heathen who sacrifice under trees to the demons. XVII. [7] "The hand of the witnesses shall be first raised against him to put him to death," *i. e.*, that they take upon themselves his sins if they have witnessed falsely. [15] "Set over you a king only such as the Lord your God shall choose," *i. e.*, when you have not a prophet or a judge fit to rule over you. Therefore truly those have acted injustly, who with Samuel desired a king, that he might rule them, as with other people (the custom is). And likewise to console him, God said "they have not rejected you, but me, that I may not rule over them" (1 Sam. 8:7). [18] "And when he shall sit upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book." Greek: *τὸ δευτερονόμιον*, *i. e.*, because he can retain that book concise and convenient to be a reminder. XVII

Chapter *eleven:* XVIII. [3] "And he shall give to the priest the shoulder parts and the two jaws, and the stomach," with vowelless 'ê and petâḥâ nûn and ḥebâṣâ wau (ܘܥܢܘܡܬܐ), the Nestorians 'ê with petâḥâ, *i. e.*, the breast. [4] "And the first of the fleece of your sheep, give him," gâmal with rebâṣâ (ܓܙܐ). [8] "Beside his sale by the fathers," zain with rebâṣâ (ܙܒܢܐ). [10] "There shall not be found among you any one who makes his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, *i. e.*, as the heathen do, "or that uses divination, or who causes the eyes to close," mîm with petâḥâ and ḥêt with rebâṣâ (ܕܡܚܡܨ), "or an enchanter, or a witch,[11] or a charmer, or one who asks a consulter of the dead." Greek: *γαστρίμυθος*, "or a wizard, or a necromancer," *i. e.*, As Saul who wished to learn from Samuel after he was dead. [15] "The Lord your God will give you a prophet from among you, of your brethren, like me; to him you shall hearken," *i. e.*, corporally, he indicates Joshua the son of Nun, and spiritually our Lord. XIX. [14] "You shall not alter the old border line, which formerly your fathers have laid out," *i. e.*, you shall not transgress against the law. [16] "And when he testifies against him injustly," nûn with petâḥâ (ܘܢܣܗܕ), Greek: *καταστῇ* . . . *καταλέγων*. [19] "Remove the evil from among you." Greek: *ἐξαρεῖτε*. XVIII XIX

Chapter *twelve:* XX. [8] "Whoever is fearful and fainthearted" . . . [19] "for the tree of the field is not," with the pronunciation of hê (ܗܘܐ), "like a man who flees from you in time of need." . . . [20] "And build bulwarks against the city." Greek: *καὶ οἰκοδομήσεις χαράκωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν*. XXI. [3] "The elders of that city shall bring in an heifer," gâmal with rebâṣâ and tau with qušâjâ (ܥܓܠܬܐ), [4] "and the elders of that city shall take away the heifer unto a rough valley," bêth with petâḥâ and jôdh with zeqâfâ (ܒܝܪܐ), the Nestorians ܒܝܪܐ bêth with zeqâfâ and vowelless jôdh as in ܒܝܬܐ rightly. Greek: *εἰς φάραγγα τραχεῖαν*, "and shall kill it." Greek: *καὶ νευροκοπήσουσι*, *i. e.*, this means, that as that heifer has not plowed, and as this earth has not been plowed, so have XX XXI

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they also not murdered. 12 "And she shall shave her head, and pare her nails," *i. e.*, that means, that he has already cleansed himself of the dead statutes of the heathen, 13 "and she shall bewail her father and her mother a full month, and then first go in unto her," *i. e.*, that means, one shall not too quickly trust the heathen. 15 "If a man have two wives, one beloved and another hated," with vowelless rêš and semkath (ܣܢܝܬܐ, ܪܚܡܬܐ), 16 "He may not make the son of the beloved firstborn, 17 but he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the firstborn, by giving him a double portion," *i. e.*, In our days, the laws allow all equally born sons to receive inheritance. 18 "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son." Greek: *ἀπειθὴς καὶ ἐρεθιστής*. 23 "His body shall not remain all night upon the wood, but bury him upon the same day; for he who has cursed God shall be hanged." Greek, wrong: *ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου*; Hebrew: קִלְלַת אֱלֹהִים תָּלוּי, namely, because it is a disgrace of God to one who hangs upon wood, *i. e.*, Every one who sees him says, he has disgraced God and he has not kept his law, and he says, if God had known that this would be his end, he would not have created him, and if he had truly known it, then would
XXII he have had pleasure in evil. XXII. 5 "The woman shall not wear men's clothes, neither shall a man put on woman's clothes," *i. e.*, as the heathen do at their feasts. 6 "And the mother bird set upon the young or upon the eggs," that is the ovum, qôf with petâḥâ and both pê with rukâkâ (ܦܩܦܐ). 7 "But let the mother bird go, and take the young for yourself," *i. e.*, Therefore the doctors do not make a mistake in caring for the pregnant, who would die with their children, if they try to let the child die that the mother may live.

Chapter *thirteen:* 8 "Make a battlement upon your roof, that no one fall down from it and blood-guilt come upon your house," *i. e.*, This command censures openly the fatalists. 10 "Do not plow with an ox and an ass together," *i. e.*, that the strong may not oppress the weak. 13 "And if (any one) hate her, 14 "and gives occasion to speak against her," nûn with rebâṣâ (ܘܢܣܝܡ); with vowelless nûn from ܣܡ gâmal with zeqâfâ, is derived from ܣܘܡܐ, and not from ܣܡ, which with petâḥâ
XXIII is derived from ܣܡܐ. XXIII. 2 "A bastard shall not enter the congregation of the Lord, even to his tenth generation." Greek: *οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐκ πόρνης εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου*; Symmachus: *μαμζήρ* (מַמְזֵר), *i. e.*, Not because he commits offense, but because the offenders would be put to shame, and they would be regarded as offenders. 3 "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter the congregation of the Lord, even to their tenth generation shall they not enter . . . forever," *i. e.*, from this it is clear that "forever" (the A. and M. shall be excluded). Not in all places in the Holy Writings is no end indicated. 4 "And because they hired against you Balaam, the son of Beor of Pethor . . . to curse you." 6 "You shall not covet their peace nor their prosperity," bêth with petâḥâ (ܫܠܡܗܘܢ). 10 "He who is not pure because of a pollution at

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night." Greek: *ἐκ ῥύσεως*. [13] "When you sit by the water of your feet, then dig with a shovel and cover your excrement." Greek: *τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου;* Symmachus: *τὸν ῥύπον σου.* [18] "Do not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the house of the Lord your God for any vow," *i. e.*, because it is vowed. [20] "Lend to a stranger, for a higher rate of interest, but to your brother do not lend for usury," *i. e.*, because our uprightness is better than their uprightness, our laws forbid one to take interest from a stranger. XXIV. [4] "It is not permitted the XXIV
former husband to return and to take her home," *i. e.*, That is what our Lord said, whoever takes a divorced wife, commits adultery" (Matt. 5:32). But the Arabians act contrary to this law, for he who has divorced his wife cannot return to take her, unless she has been married to another, who has had connection with her, and then divorced her. And we find in an old writing of the heathen, that also the lawgiver Solon has given this definition: "A man may protect himself before every shame and may hinder the separation and endure his wife."

Chapter *fourteen:* [6] "Do not take the lower or the upper millstone in pledge," *i. e.*, ܪܚܝܐ that is the lower stone with the foundation and wood, and ܪܟܒܐ that is only the upper stone. [10] "When a neighbor is indebted to you," with vowelless **n û n** (ܢܫܒܟ). [15] "On his day give him his hire," *i. e.*, on that very day. [16] "The fathers shall not die for their sons, neither shall the children die for their fathers, but every man shall die for his own sins," *i. e.*, Therefore the words "I visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation" are only spoken to frighten them. [20] "When you have clubbed your olive tree, do not look behind you," *i. e.*, ܬܚܦܐ is derived from ܡܚܦܐ, the Nestorians ܬܢܦܐ with **n û n**. XXV. [3] "Lest, if they have given more XXV
blows than these," **g â m a l** with **r u k â k â** and **d â l â t h** with **q u š â j â** (ܢܓܕܐ), *i. e.*, more than forty, "your brother should seem contemptuous to you," with vowelless **q ô f** (ܢܩܠܐ), Greek: *ἀσχημονήσει.* [4] "Do not muzzle the ox when he treads out the corn," Greek: *ἀλοῶντα.* [5] "But her husband's brother," **b ê t h** with **q u š â j â** (ܢܒܡܗ), "shall take her home." [6] "And the firstborn which she shall bear, shall be named after the name of his dead brother," *i. e.*, He is the lawful son of him who died, and the natural son of him who begat him. [9] "Then shall his brother's wife," **b ê t h** with **r u k â k â** (ܝܒܡܬܗ), "come unto him and take his shoe from his foot," *i. e.*, she is like a shoe to me, which is at first humble upon me and then exalted, "and she will spit in his face," *i. e.*, she will despise him as he has despised her. [11] "And whenever she stretches out her hand and takes him by the secret parts, [12] then cut off her hand." Greek: (*καὶ ἐπιλάβηται*) *τῶν διδύμων αὐτοῦ.* [13] "You shalt not have in your pocket various weights," *i. e.*, that you may not buy with the large and sell with the small. [18] "When he comes against you with a sword," **â l a f** with **r e b â ṣ â** and **r ê š** with **p e t â ḫ â** (ܐܪܕܦܟ), and kills

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every one of you who has remained behind," tau with petâḥâ (ܡܬܪܘܢ).
XXVI XXVI. [2] "And put it in a basket." Greek: *εἰς κάρταλλον.* [5] "My father was taken to Syria, and he went down to Egypt." Greek: *Συρίαν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ κατέβη εἰς Αἴγυπτον.* [10] "And set it before the Lord," mîm with rebâṣâ (ܫܡܫܘܗ).

Chapter *fifteen:* [14] "I have not desired it when I was unclean," with vowelless ṭêth and mîm with petâḥâ (ܛܡܐܐ), *i. e.*, the holy things from the house (v. 13), "nor have I placed it before the dead," *i. e.*, as the heathen
XXVII place food before the dead. XXVII. [4] "As soon as you have crossed the Jordan, set up these stones, which I command you this day upon mount Ebal, and paint them over with chalk, [5] and there build an altar to the Lord your God," *i. e.*, Some say that the copy (?) of the Samaritans (the temple of the Samaritans?) has been upon mount Garizim. For shortly before, had God commanded that blessings should be spoken upon mount Garizim, and curses upon mount Ebal. But how could he command that a temple should be built to him in the place of cursing? We maintain that curses, but not blessings, must be expiated, And also Joshua the son of Nun built an altar upon mount Ebal, when he had destroyed Ai, as the sixth chapter of his book relates. [15] "Cursed is the man who makes any graven or molten image . . . the work of the hands of the craftsman, and puts it in a secret place," with vowelless aspirated tau (ܡܫܬܐ), as the bêth in ܫܒܩܐ and the kâf in ܕܟܪܐ;
XXVIII Greek: *ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ.* XXVIII. [5] "Blessed is your basket and your kneading-trough." Greek: *εὐλογημέναι αἱ ἀποθῆκαί σου καὶ τὰ ἐγκαταλείμματά σου.* [7] "They shall come out against you one way, and flee before you seven ways," *i. e.*, their unity shall be destroyed. [12] "And he will give rain to your land in his season," *i. e.*, useful but not injurious rain. [13] "And the Lord shall make you the head, and not the tail," with vowelless bêth (ܕܘܩܒܠܐ).

Chapter *sixteen:* [24] "The Lord shall make the rain of your land mud," âlaf with petâḥâ and vowelless aspirated bêth (ܐܒܩܐ); Greek: *κονιορτόν.* [26] "And your carcass shall be food for the fowls of the air, and for the beasts of the earth, and no man shall scare them away," kâf with qušâjâ (ܕܡܟܣ). [27] "The Lord will strike you with the botch of Egypt," *i. e.*, As the Egyptians have afflicted you so shall the Assyrians afflict you, "and with the boils," that is a burning boil (?), "and with the scab," bêth with rukâkâ (ܒܓܪܒܐ), "and with the consumption," bêth with qušâjâ (ܒܫܚܦܐ). [28] "The Lord shall strike you with madness, and blindness, and dullness of mind." Greek: *παραπληξίᾳ καὶ ἀορασίᾳ καὶ ἐκστάσει διανοίας·* [30] "You shall plant a vineyard, but shall not press its grapes." Greek: *φυτεύσεις καὶ οὐ μὴ τρυγήσεις αὐτόν.* [31] "Your ass shall be violently taken away from you, and shall not be restored to you," pê with petâḥâ (ܢܦܠܐ). [32] "You are sad on their account all the day long, but you can do nothing for them," *i. e.*, that you buy back your exiled sons and daughters. [40] "For your olive shall cast its fruit,"

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tau with qušâjâ (ܕܩܕܠܟ). [48] "And he shall put a yoke," Greek: *κλοιόν*, "of iron upon your neck." [50] "A nation of fierce countenance." Greek: *ἀναιδὴς (προσώπῳ)*. [56] "The tenderest and most delicate woman among you," that (ܡܦܢܩܬܐ) is derived from ܦܢܩܐ. [57] "And her afterbirth which comes from her womb." Greek: *διὰ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτῆς*, *i. e.*, she shall eat it when she is hungry. [59] "Great and long plagues," Symmachus: *καὶ ἐπιμόνους*.

Chapter *seventeen:* [65] "A trembling heart," Greek: *ἀθυμοῦσαν*, "and failing of eyes," Greek: *ἐκλείποντας ὀφθαλμούς*, "and sorrow of mind," Greek: *καὶ τηκομένην ψυχήν*. [68] "And the Lord shall bring you into Egypt again with ships," *i. e.*, because you have no army, to walk upon the dry land when you flee. XXIX. [11] "From the hewer of your wood XXIX
to the drawer of your water," *i. e.*, to the lowest among you. [18] "There shall not be among you a root which bears poison and bitterness," gâmal with rebâṣâ and both dâlâth with qušâjâ (ܘܓܕܕܐ), Greek: *πικρίᾳ*. [19] "And whoever has heard the words of this curse," the second mîm written with zeqâfâ as singular (ܡܘܡܬܐ), Greek: *τῆς ἀρᾶς ταύτης*. "He will add drunkenness to thirst," with vowelless wau (ܪܘܝܘܬܐ), *i. e.*, he will satisfy his soul with lust; ܪܘܝܘܬܐ with quiescent wau, *i. e.*, the satisfaction of an intoxicating drink, and ܪܘܝܘܬܐ wau with zeqâfâ that means the drunkenness which follows the satiety. "[23] And no grass grows upon it," semkath with rebâṣâ and bêth with qušâjâ (ܥܣܒܐ), Greek: *χλωρόν*, Symmachus: *χόρτον*. [23] "Like Admah, and Zeboim, which the Lord overthrew," pê with petâḥâ (ܕܗܦܟ). [26] "The gods whom they knew not, and who have not communicated with them," pê and lâmad with petâḥâ (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ). [29] "The hidden things of our God, but revealed to us and to our sons forever." XXX. [6] "That he XXX
may let you live," ܢܚܝܢܟ this form is preferable to ܢܚܝܟ.

Chapter *eighteen:* [11] "For this commandment which I command you this day, is not hidden from you," with the pronunciation of hê (ܗܘܐ), Greek: *οὐχ ὑπέρογκός ἐστιν ἀπὸ σοῦ*, Aquila: *οὐ τεθαυμαστωμένη*, "neither is it high for you. [12] It is not in heaven, that you should say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, to bring it to us," nûn with petâḥâ and semkath with rebâṣâ (ܢܣܩ), [13] "neither is it beyond the sea," with the pronunciation of hê (ܗܘܐ), "that you should say, Who shall go," nûn with rebâṣâ (ܢܥܒܪ), "over the sea for us, and bring it to us." [19] "I call heaven and earth to witness this day against you, also life and death," *i. e.*, which continue forever. XXXI. [10] "At the time of the XXXI
year of release, in the feast of tabernacles," *i. e.*, At this time he commands that the law should be read to all the people. [17] "Because God is not among us, all these evils have come upon me," 'ê with zeqâfâ (ܐܬܝܢܝ). [21] "When many evils come upon them," mîm with petâḥâ and ṭêth with ḥebâsâ (ܕܡܚܫܒܬܗܘܢ), "for I know their thoughts." Greek:

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τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν; Symmachus: *τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν;* Theodotion: *τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν.*

XXXII Chapter *nineteen:* XXXII. [1] "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak, and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth," *i.e.*, The two extremes of this Universe he calls to witness. [2] "My teaching shall pour down like rain, my word shall fall like dew," mîm with petâḥâ (ܡܰܐܡܪܝ), *i.e.*, upon the soil of the heart. [4] "God is truth and not unjust," with the pronunciation of hê (ܗܘܐ). [5] "They have corrupted," *i. e.*, themselves through idolatry, "and the sons of evil are not his," *i. e.*, they are not worthy to be his sons. Greek: *ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά;* Aquila: *διέφθειραν αὐτῷ οὐχ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ;* Symmachus: *διέφθειραν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ συνόλον.* [8] "When the most High divided his people," Greek: *ἔθνη,* "and when he separated the sons of men," *i. e.*, as he confused the language in Babylon, "establish the borders of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." Greek: *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ, i. e.*, he appointed an angel for every nation to guide it, and even for every person. [12] "The Lord alone did lead him," bêth with qušâjâ (ܕܒܪܗ). [13] "He caused it to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the stone," *i. e.*, out of the rocks of the mountains of Palestine; and he prophesied what good and evil would come upon it. [14] "With the marrow and fat of wheat," *i. e.*, with wheat flour. [15] "But Israel," Greek: *ὁ ἀγαπημένος,* "became fat, and kicked, it became fat and strong," qof with rebâṣâ (ܘܒܥܛ). [16] "It provoked his jealousy through strange,' *i. e.*, through the gods (idols). [17] "They sacrificed to devils, who were not God," with the pronunciation of hê (ܗܘܘ). [21] "And I will arouse their jealousy through those who are not a people," *i. e.*, through the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks. [25] "The sword without, and terror within, shall snatch away." [27] "If the anger of the enemy were not fierce." Aquila: *εἰ μὴ παροργισμός.* [28] "Because it is a nation whose mind is corrupted," beth with qušâjâ (ܐܒܝܕܐ), *i. e.*, The enemy of my people is imprudent and does not know that I have given him power over it, and not his own power. [32] "And from the plant of Gomorrah," šîn and tau with rebâṣâ and the second tau with qušâjâ (ܫܬܠܬܐ). [33] "And the head of the injurious serpent," tau with rukâkâ (ܬܢܝܢܐ). Greek: (*θυμὸς*) *ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος, i. e.*, a creature which is like a turtle. [41] "And I will recompense their enemy," *i. e.*, I will destroy them. [48] "And he spake to him: [49] Ascend this mountain of the Hebrews, up mount Nebo," *i. e.*, where he died.

XXXIII Chapter *twenty:* XXXIII. [2] "The Lord came from Sinai, and he appeared to us from Seir, he revealed himself from mount Paran," *i. e.*, these are one and the same mountain, and the names vary according to its parts, and Horeb is also a deserted part of Sinai. [3] "And he gave them (the law) . . . and he loved the peoples," âlaf with petâḥâ (ܐܚܒ). [5] "And there shall be a king in Israel," *i. e.*, the heavenly Messiah.

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"Let Reuben live, and not die," *i. e.*, may his sins be forgiven because he repented and that means this, "Moses gave life to the dead Reuben." [7] "Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah," *i. e.*, Reuben alone was blessed, according to the natural order of the first born, but the others according to their deserts, therefore was Reuben placed at their head. Moses did not bless Simeon, for he had not yet repented and become penitent for his sins, as he chiefly had incited the murder of Joseph. A chief of the tribe was also Simri the fornicator (Num. 25:14). Also he had incited Levi to the murder of the sons of Sichem on account of one who had sinned (Gen. 34). [8] "And to Levi he said: Your perfection and your light belong to a pious man," *i. e.*, It is namely a reference to the revelations which were given to the high priest. [9] "Whoever speaks of his father and of his mother, I have not seen him," *i. e.*, He troubled himself not for his relations when they fornicated with the daughters of Midian. [12] "And he dwells between his shoulders," *i. e.*, the Lord, while Jerusalem is the inheritance of the sons of Benjamin. [13] "And from the deep which crouches." Greek: (ἀπὸ) ἀβύσσων πηγῶν κάτωθεν. [14] "And from the fruit conceived by the sun," Greek: καὶ καθ' ὥραν γενημάτων ἡλίου τροπῶν, "and from the fruit which is conceived by the moon." Greek: καὶ ἀπὸ συνόδων μηνῶν. [18] "Rejoice, Zebulon, in your going out," *i. e.*, When you go in your merchant's store by the harbor which is by the sea, "and, Issachar, in your tents," *i. e.*, upon mount Zion. [19] "For they suck the abundance (of the seas)," nûn with rebâṣâ (ܢܳܐܠܡܨ), Greek: θηλάσει σε, "and ships which are hidden in the sand," *i. e.*, namely, because they are heavy and sink on account of the abundance of wealth which is found in them. Symmachus: ἀποθήκας κεκρυμμένας ἄμμῳ. [20] "And crushes the arm with the head," *i. e.*, Gad defeated the army which was with Siḥon. [21] "Because a part of the lawgiver is concealed there," *i. e.*, Moses is buried there. [22] "Dan is a lion's whelp, which sucks of Matnîn," *i. e.*, namely, through the hero Samson. [23] "Naphtali is satisfied according to his wish," *i. e.*, He is full of possessions, as he wished. [24] "And he dips his foot in oil," *i. e.*, that is namely a reference to the wealth of his land. [28] "Also the heavens drop dew." Greek: καὶ ὁ οὐρανός σοι συννεφὴς δρόσῳ. [29] "And your enemies shall lie to you," *i. e.*, because the rich as well as the poor shall deceive you on account of your fright, as the Gibeonites did. XXXIV. [6] "And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab," XXXIV namely, the angels, "but no man knew of his sepulchre." Greek: τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ, "unto this day." [7] "His eye was not dim, nor his cheeks wrinkled," *i. e.*, because they beamed with divine brilliancy. [8] "And the days of weeping and mourning for Moses were ended," with vowelless šîn (ܘܫܠܡܘ), *i. e.*, thirty days. [10] "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like Moses," *i. e.*, it is probable that Joshua the son of Nun wrote these last words.

The repetition of the law is completed, the fifth book of Law from the book ܐܘܪ̈ܝ ܐܢ̈ܝ. Thank God, who has given strength and help.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.[1]

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III. MORPHOLOGY.[2]

THE VERB.

In General.—§ 187. The law of triconsonantality is carried out more consequently in our idiom than in the cognate languages. There is properly no quadriconsonantal verb in it. Almost all the quadriconsonantals can be easily reduced to a triconsonantal + a formative element; or to the reduplication of a biconsonantal theme. The few pluriconsonantals that cannot be so reduced are either denominatives or foreign words.

In Particular.—*Verbal Stems.*—§ 188. *a*) The subjoined table at the end gives a survey of all the conjugations or verb-stems found in the Babylonian Talmud together with the number of the occurrences of every stem. From this table will be evident that the stems that have proper life in our idiom are only five: Qal, Paʿʿēl, Aphʿēl, Ithpᵉʿēl and Ithpaʿʿal.

b) Beside the stems enumerated, a few examples of Haphʿēl, Hithpᵉʿēl, Hithpaʿʿal and Niphʿāl are found, which are all taken from the Palestinian. Thus, לְהִתְנַסְבָא Yeb. 107 *b*, Gitt. 85 *b;* לְהִתְעַנְאָה Taan. 17 *b*, Men. 65 *a;* תִּלַּקְחָן Keth. 52 *b*.[3] For Haphʿēl *cf.* "Rare Conjugations."

§ 189. A few examples of the passive stems occur only in the participle. Thus, Puʿʿal: מְשׁוּמַּת *put under ban*, Sabb. 67 *a;* מְהוּגְנָא [Targ. מְהוֹגְנָא] *becoming*, eds. Taan. 22 *b;* מְאוּחֲרֵי *post dated*, B. B. 171 *b;* מְכוּעָרִי *ugly*, Keth. 60 *b;* מְבוּשַּׁלְתָּא *boiled*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Pôlal: מְעוֹפַּף *folded*, Ḥull. 51 *b*.—Pulpal: מְגוּלְגַּלְתָּא *rolled in ashes*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Hophʿal: מוּצְדַּק *is fit*, Gitt. 86 *a;* מוּחְזַק *is known*, Qidd. 64 *ab;* מוּפְלַג *distinguished*, ʿArûkh and

[1] See AJSL., Vol. XIII., No. 1, pp. 21–78.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[3] תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, § 131, has דִּיתְלַקְחָן (or דִּיתַּלְּקָחָן?); נִמְלַךְ אֲנָא *I have reconsidered* (Ber. 42 *b*), though in Aramaic context, is Hebrew.

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Rašî, 'Er. 63 *a;* מוּכְחָא *is evident*, Sabb. 139 *b* and elsewhere; מוּפְנֵי *superfluous*, Yeb. 74 *a;* מוּזְרְתָא *rotten*, Bekh. 57 *b*.

§ 190. In the dictionaries a Nithpeʿēl or Nithpaʿʿal is sometimes mentioned. No such form exists in the Babylonian Talmud. The examples given by them are either Hebrew, or the imperfect with the נ-preformative. A real Nithpeʿēl seems to occur in נִיתְּצָד *was caught* (שערי תשובה, § 184, and Hal. Pesûq. ed. Müller, p. 77), but forms like נְדַיְּירֵיה, נְטַיְּבֵיה (*ibid.*, p. 80) show that this is the imperfect used with the force of the Assyrian preterite.

Qal.—§ 191. The Qal, or simple stem, consists of the simplest root found in the language. The 3d sing. masc. perfect is קְטַל, especially with transitive verbs. Beside קְטַל are also found קְטֵיל and קְטוֹל, chiefly with neuter verbs. The last form is rare. In the imperfect all the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* occur even in strong stems. Of denominative verbs אכף, בדל, בשר, חטר, חפך, כנף, קטם and קנס are examples.

Paʿʿēl.—§ 192. This stem is formed from the simple stem by doubling the middle stem-consonant. Thus original qatal(a) became qattal(a), a form still preserved with final gutturals. Generally, the second *a*-vowel has given place to the *i*-vowel originally belonging to the imperfect.[1] The first vowel is sometimes heightened to *i* (*ē*), especially under the influence of a following guttural, or ר. Paʿʿēl is the denominative stem *par excellence; e. g.* אכף, גייד, גרם, זוק,זוד, טיט, יבם, כבר, כור, כתף, לבן, צלם, קנם.

Aphʿēl.—§ 193. This stem is formed from the Qal by the prefix of אַ. Thus, אַקְטַל from קְטַל. The stem-vowel is usually changed to *i*, if not protected by a following guttural, or ר. The vowel of the preformative undergoes sometimes the same change, and this not only in the perfect, as in Hebrew, but also in the other parts of the verb. Denominative verbs are few in this stem: אהדם, contracted אדם *to cut to pieces*, אדרים *to turn south*, אכנף *to gather*, אקליד *to enclose*, אתריס *to arm oneself*. The preformative א represents an earlier sibilant, שׁ or ס, probably through the intermediate stage of ה.

Reflexive Stems.—§ 194. The reflexive stems, which have in a later stage of development supplanted the passive stems formed by internal vowel-change, are formed from the active stems by

[1] This is the current opinion. But the *i*-vowel may also be original; *cf.* Zimmern, *ZA.*, V., 1-22.

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prefixing the syllable אִתְ. Thus, אִתְקְטֵל, אִתְקַטַּל, אִתַּקְטַל are formed from the Qal, Pa''ēl and Aph'ēl respectively. The original form of the preformative was תַ. The syncope of the vowel of ת and the subsequent prefixing of a prothetic vowel is probably due originally to the imperfect, where, *e. g.*, a form titaqatil would easily become titqatil, analogous to the Niph'al in Hebrew, where הִקָּטֵל is formed from the imperfect stem n(a)qatil.

§ 195. With stems whose first consonant is a sibilant the ת is usually transposed after the sibilant, but just as frequently remains untransposed.

§ 196. In stems ע"י the ת of the Ithpe'ēl is always doubled in order to give the stem a semblance of triconsonantality. The same is true of ע"ע stems when they follow the conjugation of the ע"י stems. The ת is also doubled in stems פ"א when the א is assimilated to it. The ת of the Ittaph'al is doubled for the same reason. It is usually preserved in verbs פ"י.

§ 197. When the ת is spirantic it is usually assimilated to the first radical and the latter doubled.[1] When the first radical is ר or a guttural the assimilation of the ת takes place without consequent doubling.[2]

§ 198. The usual stemvowel of the Ithpe'ēl is *i* (*ē*), but the original *a* has been retained in some cases even with non-gutturals. The Ithpa''al has, with few exceptions, *a* in the last syllable.

Moods and Tenses.—§ 199. There are only three moods: the Indicative, the Imperative and the Infinitive. All other moods are expressed by syntactical means. The tenses are also three: the Perfect, the Imperfect and the Present. The last is represented by the participle.

Afformatives of the Perfect.—§ 200. *3d sing. fem.:* The older form ַת has been preserved in a few instances.[3] The apocopated form ָא, or ָה, written promiscuously, is the usual ending. A few times ִית occurs for ַת, which form is either an analogical

[1] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 164.

[2] But *cf.* הלכות גדולות ed. Hildesheimer, p. 282, אִירַהֲצַר (vocalized).

[3] *Cf.* אֲזַלַת וַעֲבַרַת *she went and transgressed*, Ned. 23 *a*; טְבַעַת *foundered*, אִיתְקַדְּשַׁת *was betrothed*, [דְּ]יְלִדַת *brought forth*, Ned. 50 *a*; תְּבַרַת *broke*, *ibid.* 66 *b*; עֲרִיקַת *fled*, Sabb. 67 *a*; בְּטֵילַת *ceased*, Sôta 33 *a*; אַקְרְבַת *brought near*, Yeb. 39 *b*; אִיתְנְטִילַת *was abolished*, Sabb. 116 *b*, Ên Ya'aqōb; אִיתְיְהִיבַת *was given*, *ibid.* (the last two examples belong to the Palest. dialect); אִיקַּדְּשַׁת Keth. 62 *b*; אִיתַּסִּיאַת *was cured*, *ibid.*; יְרַקַת *spit*, Yeb. 39 *b*; and others.

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formation after the ל״י verbs, or else the י marks the indistinct vowel-sound after the accent: qᵉṭálᵉth.[1] Twice ־תָא occurs, as in the Hebrew ל״י verbs.[2]

§ 201. *2d sing. masc.:* The usual ending is ־תְּ; but the old ending ־תָא occurs a few times. Thus, נְדַרְתָּא *didst vow,* Ned. 23 *a;* רְכַבְתָּא *didst ride,* A. Z. 4 *b;* אִיגַּרְתָּא (√אגר) *didst hire thyself,* Yômā 20 *b,* M. MS.; סְפֵיתָא *wouldst have caused to eat,* Ḥull. 96 *a;* אִיפַּגַרְתָּא 'En Yaq., Keth. 111 *a.*

§ 202. *2d sing. fem.:* The old ending ־תִּי is never found; but the form ־ִית, which like the afformative of the 1st sing. com. has arisen from the former by throwing back its final vowel, occurs a few times; *e. g.,* קְטַלִית *thou didst kill,* Keth. 65 *a;* אַרְבַּעִית *placest* (used as m.), B. Q. 114 *a;* יְהַבִית *gavest,* Keth. 85 *a;* אוֹזְפִית *lentest* (m.), Sabb. 66 *b,* M. MS. The usual form is ־תְּ.

§ 203. *1st sing. com.:* The old ending ־תִי is found but in a few cases: בְּלַעְתִּי *I swallowed,* Ber. 56 *b;*[3] שְׁקַלְתִּי *I took,* Sabb. 156 *b* (M. MS. שְׁקַלְת); אֲתֵיתִי *I came,* Taan. 32 *ab,* Suk. 44 *b,* Sabb. 116 *b,* Pes. 110 *b;* צַלֵּיתִי *I prayed,* Ber. 30 *b,* M. MS.; הֲוֵיתִי *I was,* Tam. 32 *a,* Suk. 44 *b.* The usual forms are ־ִית (§ 241) and, with apocope of ת, ־ִי. The first is frequent; the last is the most common. The י before ת is in a few cases wanting. *Cf.* שְׁקַלְת above, אַפֵּיקְת *I brought out,* Ber. 38 *a* (Raši אַפֵּיקִית).

Rosenberg's supposition that the apocopated ending ־י is to be vocalized ־ַי[4] is untenable from orthographical considerations. The two examples with diphthongal ending: אֲזַלַאי *I went,* H. MS., B. B. 73 *b,* and אַסְחַאי *I removed,* Er. 54 *b,* are to be explained either as analogical formations to the ל״י verbs or according to § 80. In any case the exception confirms the rule.[5]

§ 204. *3d plur. masc.:* The usual form is ־וּ. In a few cases we find ־וּן, due to the influence of the imperfect. In some cases we have ־ִין, ־ִי, due to the influence of the participles. In the feminine the ending is ־ָן.

[1] אִיתְקְטַלִית Sabb. 116 *b* eds.; *cf.* אִישְׁתְּכַחִית *was found,* תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, § 550.

[2] עַלְתָּא *entered,* B. Q. 48 *a;* עַלְתָה Ber. 51 *b.*

[3] But this is probably בְּלַעְתִּי = בְּלַעְתֵּיהּ as in ed. Ven.

[4] *Das Aram. Verbum,* p. 10.

[5] On the whole it may be said that the fuller endings of the 1st sing. com. and the 3d sing. fem. are found *a*) with strong verbs in passages of an early date, *b*) with weak verbs also in later times, to give more substance to the word.

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§ 205. *2d plur. masc.:* The usual forms are ־ְתוּן and ־ְתוּ, both occurring with equal frequency. For the forms ־ִיתוּן, ־ִיתוּ, see § 233 *a*.

§ 206. *2d plur. masc.:* Alongside of the older form ־ְנָא we find the younger forms ־ַן[1] and ־ְנָן. For the forms ־ִינָא, ־ִינָן, see § 232 *a*. Note שַׁעְבְּדִינִי *we subjected to servitude*, A. Z. 2 *b* (M. MS. שַׁעְבֵּדַן). This ending is common in Palestinian forms before suffixes.[2]

Preformatives of the Imperfect.—§ 207. *3d sing. masc.:* The original prefix י has been retained in the language of legal style, in some ancient proverbs, in all standing expressions, and in a few other cases. Usually the prefix is לי or ל, and ני or נ. Both prefixes, ל and נ, are used interchangeably for indicative as well as jussive.[3] The נ is, however, more frequently found in the indicative.

§ 208. That the ל had originally a jussive force, largely retained even in our late texts, admits of no doubt. Compare such passages as these: וְלֵימְרוּ לֵיהּ וכו׳ לִגְזְרוּ עֲלָךְ מִן שְׁמַיָּא דְלֶהֱוֵי טָבָא וְיֶהֱוֵי טָבָא *and let them tell him*, etc., "*may it be decreed by Heaven concerning thee that it be propitious*" *and it will be propitious*, Ber. 55 *b;* לָא לִיהַלֵּל דְּהַיְלְלוּנֵיהּ *let no one praise himself in order that others may praise him*, 2 M. MS., MQ. 28 *b*.

Against the current opinion that the ל is identical with the Arabic particle لِ, Assyrian lu, and that the נ is only a phonetic variant of ל, Barth holds that the ל is of different origin from the נ, that both ל and נ are demonstrative particles, the first used for the jussive, the last for the indicative, and that these particles are not prefixed to the forms יקטל, יתקטל, etc., but substitute the י-prefix. The arguments he advances in support of his theory seem to be very plausible. There are only two points which seem to speak against this theory: (1) The interchange of נ and ל in the first person of the plural, and (2) the י after ל or נ in the Aph'ēl. But the first may be explained as a false analogy of the 3d person, the second as due to the change of the vowel of the prefix. For the last point speaks the fact

[1] That this form was so pronounced is evident from a form like תַּקְנַן.

[2] *Cf.* also הֲוֵינַן *we were*, *M V.* 86, and § 271, note.

[3] For the various opinions entertained about the nature of this ל see the references in Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*[3], pp. 276–7; Haupt, *BA.*, I., p. 17, note 20; Laurie, "An Assyrian Precative" in Daniel's *Hebraica* (*Bibl. Sacra*); Barth, "Das Syr. Imperfect-Präfix *n*," AJSL., XIII., 1–6.

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that a pronunciation לִיקְטֵל is unsupported by orthography and unknown to tradition.

NOTE.—A few exceptional spellings may here be noted: לַאסְהֵיד *let him testify*, B. B. 43 *b;* לִיאַדְּרָה *let them cause her to make a vow*, Gitt. 35 *a.*[1] Note also לְאִידְּבַק *that I may attach myself*, M. MS., Pes. 41 *a* (§ 53, 4).[2]

§ 209. *3d sing. fem.:* The usual prefix is ת. At times ל is found instead. Whether this is an older form or is to be explained by the use of the masculine for the feminine (§ 234) cannot be decided.

§ 210. *2d sing.* and *plur. masc.* and *fem.:* The prefix is invariably ת.

§ 211. *1st sing. com.:* The prefix is invariably א. *3d plur. masc.* and *fem.:* The prefix for both is alike לי, ל or ני, נ, as in the 3d sing. masc.

§ 212. *1st plur. com.:* This prefix is generally נ, but sometimes ל.

§ 213. The vocalization of the preformatives of the imperfect vary in some respects from the Syriac. Thus, not only the א usually takes çērê instead of šᵉvâ, as in Syriac, but also the other prefixes, though with less frequency, follow the same rule. This is especially the case in verbs ע״ו and ע״ע. The א takes a full vowel in consequence of its weakness; and the other prefixes follow their analogy. But *cf.* § 13.

Afformatives of the Imperfect.—§ 214. *2d sing. fem.:* The ending is ־ִין or ־ִי. It occurs only in a few cases (§ 249).

§ 215. *2d* and *3d plur. masc.:* The ending is ־וּן, or ־וּ. Both are of equal occurrence. The endings ־ִין and ־ִי are rare (§ 232).

§ 216. *3d plur. fem.:* The ending is ־ָן. Once we find ־ָה: לִיתְּצָדָה *are caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 *b.*

Afformatives of the Imperative.—§ 217. *Sing. masc.:* The ending of the energicus has been retained in a few instances. פְּרַדִּין *flee*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b;* פְּרַעִין *pay*, Šebu. 41 *b.*[3]

§ 218. *Sing. fem.:* The ending is ־ִין, or ־ִי.

§ 219. *Plur. masc.:* The usual ending is ־וּ; but *cf.* אַחִיתוּן *put ye*, Ned. 50 *b;* מִיהֲלָן *circumcise yourselves*, M. MS., Sanh. 39 *a.* At times the nominal ending ־ִי appears (§ 232).

[1] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.*. § 166.

[2] לַארְווח *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 335; לְאִיחְתִּי *HG.* 444.

[3] But this form may be feminine used for masculine.

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§ 220. *Plur. fem.:* The only instance of such a form is קְטוּלֵין *kill ye*, Sabb. 12 *b* (O. MS. קַטְלִינְהוּ). The ending ־ין may be equivalent to ־ִינְהוּ.

The מ*-prefix of Infinitive and Participle.*—§ 221. Like the prefixes of the imperfect the מ in infinitives and participles has sometimes a full vowel instead of šᵉvâ. In a few cases the מ of the infinitive Qal has *u* instead of *i* (§ 553, *c*).

Afformatives of the Infinitive.—§ 222. The infinitive presents the following endings:

a) ־ָא, ־ָה; this is considered by Nöldeke to be the emphatic ending,[1] but according to Barth it is the feminine ending.[2]

b) ־ֵי: The nature of this ending is uncertain. Fürst sees in it the masculine ending ـِي, Syr. ـܶ, Hebr. ־ֶה (*cf.* לִבְנֶה, אִשֶּׁה, עִלְפֶּה);[3] Nöldeke takes it to be the feminine ending of the same form;[4] Landauer explains it to be the plural ending;[5] Barth, an abstract ending.[2] There remains still the possibility of its being the post-tonic indefinite vowel for original *â*, *û*, which change might have been due also to dissimilation.

One is inclined to connect this ending with the similar adjective ending in words like רַבְּתִי, חֲדַתִי, חַדְתִי (B. M. 73 *a*), חִיוַּרְתִי, אוּכַּמְתִי, זוּטַרְתִי, and the like. For a similar change *cf.* modern Arabic *e* for classical Arabic ـَة; see also § 69, note 1, above.[6]

c) ־וֹיֵי by analogy with ל״י verbs.

d) ־וּת, ־וּ. The last is shortened from the first and does not restore its ת even before suffixes. *Cf.* § 64.

e) ־ַת, doubtful. Only in מִכְּפַּת. According to Nöldeke, the last word is an analogical formation from אִכְּפַּת √אכף; (but *cf.* מֵיחַת *to whip*, Maḥzôr Vitry, p. 28, = Ḥull. 107 *b*).

f) ־ָךְ. The last forms (*c–f*) only sporadically.

§ 223. We let here follow the enumeration of all the infinitive forms found:

Qal: מִקְטַל, מַקְטַל, מִקְטֵיל, מִקְטוֹל, מוּקְטַל, מִקְטְלָא, מִקְטְלָה, מִקְטְלֵי, מִקְטוֹלֵי, מִקְטְלַת, מִקְטְלָךְ, קְטַל, אִקְטַל, קְטוֹל, אִקְטוֹל, קְטוֹלֵי, קַטְלוּיֵי, קִטְלוּי.

Pa"ēl: קַטּוֹלֵי, קְטוֹלֵי, קַטּוֹלָא, קַטָּלָא, קַטָּלֵי, קַטֵּילֵי, קַטּוֹל, קְטוֹל, קַטֵּיל, קַטָּלוּ, קַטָּלוּת, מְקַטַּל, מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטָּלָא, קַטָּלוּיֵי.

1 *MG.*, § 122.
2 *Nominal bildung*, § 101.
3 *Lehrgebäude*, p. 121.
4 *MG.*, p. 143.
5 *ZA.*, III., 274.
6 *MG.*, p. 154.

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Aph'ēl: אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִקְטוֹלֵי, אַקְטֵילֵי, אַקְטְלֵי, אַקְטוֹלָא, אַקְטְלָא, אַקְטְלָה, אַקְטוֹלָן, אַקְטֵל, אַקְטוֹל, (הַקְטוֹלֵי), אַקְטְלוּיֵי, מַקְטוֹלֵי, מַקְטְלָא, מִקְטְלָא, מַקְטֵל, מִקְטֵל, נַקְטֵל.

Ithpe'ēl: אִתְקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹלָא, אִתְקְטָלָא, אִתְקְטָלוּ, אִתְקְטָלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹלָן, אִתְקְטִילָן, אִתְקְטָלוּיֵי, אִתְקְטוֹל, אִתְקְטֵיל, אִתְקְטַל, אִתְקוֹטֵל,[1] מִתְקְטַל, מִתְקְטָלָא, מִתְקְטוֹלֵי.

Ithpa''al: אִתְקַטּוֹלֵי, אִתְקַטּוֹלָא, אִתְקַטְּלָא, אִתְקַטְּלוּיֵי, אִתְקַטּוֹל, אִתְקַטַּל, אִתְקַטֵּיל, מִתְקַטְּלָא, נִתְקַטּוֹלֵי.[2]

Ittaph'al: אִתַּקְטוֹלֵי.

Pluri-consonantal stems.—Active: קַטְלוֹבֵי, קִטְלוֹבֵי, קִטְלוֹבָא, קַטְלְבָא, קִטְלוֹב.—*Passive:* אִתְקַטְלוֹבֵי, אִתְקַטְלְבֵי, אִתְקַטְלַב.

Afformatives of the Participle.—§ 224. *Sing. fem.:* The ending ־ַת is rare.[3] Generally it is ־ָא, or ־ָה. The first more frequent. The emphatic state ־ְתָא occurs but a few times. At times the perfect ending is found: מַפְּלָאי *is fissured*, Ber. 25 *a;* מִיבְּעָאי, F. MS., B. Q. 43 *b;* מִיתַּתְאִי *is low*, Pes. 8 *a.*[4]

§ 225. *Plur. masc.:* The ending ־ִין is rare. The usual ending is ־ֵי, as in Neo-Syriac.[5] More frequent is the verbal ending ־וּ, rarely ־וּן.

§ 226. *Plur. fem.:* The ending is ־ָן. In a few cases one would be inclined to suppose apocope of ן; *e. g.*, אַבְנֵי דִמְשַׁפְּיָא *cut stones*, B. B. 3 *a;* כַּרְעֵי דְּמִנַּקְּפָא *knocking knees*, Ber. 6 *a.* But we may also explain such forms as singulars (§ 235); *cf.* מִילֵּי אוֹחֲרֵי *other things*, M. MS., B. M. 15 *a;* מִילֵּי אַחֲרִינָא, eds. *ibid.*

STRUCTURE OF VERB.—*In General.*—§ 227. The form q a t-u l(a) of the simple stem occurs but in a few examples. Many verbs occur now as q a t a l(a), now as q a t i l(a) without difference in meaning, and the old correspondence of *i* and *u* perfects to *a* imperfect, of *a* perfect to *u* and *i* imperfects, is largely destroyed. In fact, some verbs occur with either of the three vowels.

§ 228. The derived stems have frequently *u* instead of the usual *i, e.*[6] This is frequent in the imperfect, rare in the perfect and imperative, and does not occur at all in the participle. But

[1] In ל״י verbs by analogy with the strong verb.

[2] This form is doubtful.

[3] *Cf.* מְחַמְּמַת *she heats*, Taan. 21 *b;* מִשְׁתַּכְּחַת *is found*, Sabb. 110 *b.* *Cf.* §§ 23, *c;* 233.

[4] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[5] C. MS., Zeb. 14 *b*, has vocalized דְּעָבְדִי.

[6] Traces of this usage are found in the Targûmim and in Assyrian: יְזַדְּרוּק Lev. 7:3; אִתְרְגוּשַׁת 2 Sam. 22:8; יְתַחוּנֵיךְ Hos. 9:2; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 273 *sq.*

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such nominal forms as מְיַנּוּקָא *suckling*, מַשְׁמוֹטָא *robber*, מַהֲדוּרָא *peddler*, evidently show its earlier existence also in the participle. I am also inclined to consider the nominal form קָטוֹלָא as originally a Qal active participle qâtŭl, a by-form of qâtil.[1]

§ 229. The stem-vowel has a tendency to stay before afformatives in all forms of the finite verb. This tendency is predominating in the perfect and the imperative, but rare in the imperfect. The participle regularly loses its vowel before afformatives.[2]

§ 230. A vowelless guttural, or ר, generally retains original *ă* before it, or changes an original *i*, or *ŭ*, to *ă*.

In Particular.—§ 231. 1. Verbs whose stem ends in a consonant, sometimes transfer the afformative *û* of the plural from the end of the word to between the second and last stem-consonant (between first and last in biconsonantal verbs). This occurs frequently in the perfect, but is rare in the other parts of the verb.

2. Levy[3] supposes forms like קטול, אקטול, etc., to be infinitives. Of course, he had in view only the perfect. The few examples in other parts of the verb he either did not notice, or explained them away—and the latter can be easily done.

3. Arguments can be brought forth on both sides. In favor of Levy's theory are such facts:

a) Lack of a similar phenomenon in the cognate languages.

b) The use of unmistakable infinitives for finite forms in our idiom as well as in the cognate languages.

c) Traditional pronunciation of the form קטול as קְטוֹל.[4]

4. On the other hand it may be argued:

a) That this form is used exclusively for the third plural masculine. Had it been an infinitive, it would not have been so limited in number, nor in person.

[1] These *u*-forms seem to represent a much earlier phase of verb-formation than is found in the cognate languages. The view that qatul(a), qatil(a) forms had originally corresponding derived forms just as qatala forms have, seems to be borne out by our idiom. *Cf.* on this question Zimmern, "Das Verhältnis des assyr. Permansivs zum semit. Perfect und zum ägypt. 'Pseudopartícip,'" *ZA.*, V., 1-22, and Lindl, *Die bab.-assyr. Präsens-u. Präteritalformen.* The theory that the *u*-vowel in such cases represents *û*, which stands for *î* (*cf.* Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, p. 21 and references), does not explain the presence of this vowel in the Ithpa''al.

[2] But *cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 220, note 2.

[3] *Neuhebr. Wb.*, s. v. שֵׁשׁ.

[4] The accent being on the penult, the last vowel is indistinctly pronounced. But, I think, it sounds more like *û* than *ō*. This is supported by two vocalized examples: שְׁדוּר *they sent*, Col. MS., Meg. 6*a*, and אֲמוּר *they said*, Še'ēlt., ed. pr., p. 26. Levy, in accordance with his theory, vocalizes קְטוֹל. The קָמֵץ in the traditional pronunciation is probably due to the influence of verbs פ״א or פ״ע, their initial consonant frequently taking a full vowel instead of ševâ.

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b) That the ל״י verbs should have had a form corresponding to קטוּל of the strong verb.

c) That the corresponding forms in the derived stems show clearly the difference of the infinitive and the epenthetized forms *Cf.*, *e. g.*, אַקְטוּל with אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוּל with אִתְקְטוֹלֵי.

5. The throwing back of the final vowel is probably due to a retrocession of the accent in the derived conjugations to the antepenultima, and, by analogy, also in the Qal. Traces of such retrocession are found in the nouns יַנְקוּתָא and שׁוּפְטָנֵי accented now on the first syllable.

§ 232. *a*) In consequence of the participles being used with the force of a tense, they and the perfect influence each other in several ways: in exchanging afformatives and structure of verbal theme. Thus, on the one hand, the perfect presents forms like קְטַלִין, קְטַלֵי, instead of קְטַלוּ, while the participles appear as קָטְלוּ, קְטִילוּ, instead of קָטְלִין, קָטְלֵי, קְטִילִין, קְטִילֵי.[1] On the other hand, the perfect, which ought to join its plural afformatives of the first and the second persons to a singular verbal theme: קְטַלְתּוּן, קְטַלְנָן, adopted from the participles the plural verbal theme: קְטַלֵי+נַן, קְטַלֵי+תוּן, while the participles underwent, through the influence of the perfect, a reverse process, assuming the singular theme before plural enclitic pronouns: קָטֵל+נַן, קָטֵל+תוּן, קְטִיל+נַן, קְטִיל+תוּן.

b) The passive participle of Qal has beside its regular form קְטִיל also a form קְטוּל. The latter is less frequent.

§ 233. The imperfect forms without afformatives take in a few cases the endings of the perfect. Thus: תִּיתְּסְרָא *let it be forbidden*, Ned. 23 *a;* נֵיתוּ וְנֵיתְּבֵי מִיָּא *come, let us bring rain*, Taan. 25 *a;* תָּא לֶיהֱווּ כּוּלָּן לְעַמָּא חַד *come, let us all be one people*, Sanh. 39 *a;* דְּנִימְטִין *that we may carry off*, Hôr. 3 *b;* לֵיעַיְּינַן *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 *b;* לִיבַטְּלִינַן *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 *a;* נֵיתְיָאן *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 *b* (§ 102);[2] אֶשְׁתְּמִיטְנָא *I shall eschew*, B. Q. 105 *b;* אֵיעַכַּבְנָא *I shall be late*, 'En Ya'aq., Sanh. 98 *a*. The same is met with in the participle.

GENDER.—§ 234. There are in the verb, as well as in the noun, two genders, masculine and feminine. But their use is

[1] In later literature: גְּרַסְיוּנָא (*bis*) *we learned*, *Resp. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens*, ed. Mueller, § 144 (Šerîrâ Gāôn); and even אַסְהֵידְנוּן, אַסְהִידִיפוּן *they testified*, *ibid.*, § 89, =אַסְהֵיד+, אַסְהִידוּ+אִינּוּן.

[2] The section quoted is to be corrected by this.

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irregular. On the whole it can be said that the feminine tends to disappear altogether. There is not a single masculine form that could not legitimately be used for the feminine, while many of the feminine forms are found in use for the masculine, both in verb and pronoun. *Cf.* § 236.[1]

Number.—§ 235. Of the two numbers, the singular is frequently used when we should expect the plural. This may be due to laxity of syntax, or, as in Syriac, to the orthographical omission of the plural ending, or to scribal errors.

STRONG VERB.

§ 236. The guttural verbs have been treated together with the non-gutturals, since for lack of vocalization we know but little of the modifications the former underwent.

In the examples given, masculine forms have been given as masculine, although used as feminine, and the reverse. *E. g.*, אִיעַבַּר *she became pregnant* (Bekh. 47 *a*, Sanh. 69 *a*) I put under masculine forms; מִיהֲלָן *circumcise yourselves* (M. MS., Sanh, 39 *a*), under feminine forms.

[1] *Cf.* Lotz, *Tigl. Pileser*, p. 96 below; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 162; Barnstein, pp. 30-33.

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Qal.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קְטַל (אֶקְטַל),	קְטֵיל, (אֶקְטֵיל)	קְטוֹל
3d fem. . . .	קְטַלָא, ־ַת	קְטֵילָא, ־ַת	——
2d masc. . .	קְטַלְתְּ	קְטֵילְתְּ	——
2d fem. . . .	קְטַלִית	——	——
1st com. . .	קְטַלִי[ת]	קְטֵילִי[ת]	קְטוֹלִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc.	קְטַלוּ קְטוֹל	קְטִילוּ קְטוּל	קְטוּלוּ קְטוּל
3d fem. . . .	קְטַלָן	קְטִילָן	——
2d masc. . .	קְטַלְתּוּ[ן], ־ִיתוּ[ן]	קְטֵילְתּוּ[ן], ־ִיתוּ[ן]	——
1st com.	קְטַלְנָא, קְטַלַן קְטַלִינָן, ־לְנָן	קְטֵילְנָא, קְטֵילַן קְטִילִינָן, ־לְנָן	—— קְטוּלִינָן
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטוֹל, נִיקְטוֹל	לִיקְטֵיל, נִי׳	לִיקְטַל, נִי׳
3d fem. . . .	תִּקְטוֹל	תִּקְטֵיל	תִּקְטַל
2d masc. . .	תִּקְטוֹל	תִּקְטֵיל	תִּקְטַל
2d fem. . . .		תִּקְטְלִי[ן]	
1st com. . .	אֶקְטוֹל	אֶקְטֵיל	אֶקְטַל
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לִיקְטְלוּ[ן], נִי׳	
3d fem. . . .		לִיקְטְלָן, נִי׳	
2d masc. . .		תִּקְטְלוּ[ן]	
1st com. . .	נִיקְטוֹל, לִי׳	נִיקְטֵיל, לִי׳	נִיקְטַל, לִי׳
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קְטוֹל	קְטֵיל	קְטַל
2d fem. . . .	קְטוּלִי[ן]	קְטִילִי[ן]	קְטַלִי[ן]
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קְטוּלוּ	קְטִילוּ	קְטַלוּ
INFINITIVE.		מִקְטַל	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.		קָטֵיל	
fem. .		קָטְלָא	
Passive, sg. masc.		קְטִיל, (קְטוּל)	
fem. .		קְטִילָא, (קְטוּלָא)	

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EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 237. *a*) [BT קְטַל; M קטאל; S ܩܛܰܠ].[1]—שְׁקַל *he took*, Ned. 51 *a;* שְׁתַק *kept silent*, M. Q. 28 *a;* עֲרַק *fled*, M. Q. 28 *a;* שְׁלַח *sent*, שְׁמַע *heard*, Ned. 65 *a;* טְהַר *shone forth*. Yôm. 15 *a*.

b) [B קְטַל, קְטֵל; T קְטֵיל, קְטִיל; M קטיל; S ܩܛܶܠ].—סְלֵיק *ascended*, Ned. 66 *b*, Ber. 18 *b;* טְעֵים *tasted*, Ned. 66 *b;* שְׁכֵיב *had died*, *ibid*.

c) [T קְטוּל; S ܩܛܘܠ].—חֲרוּב *was destroyed*, Gitt. 55 *b;* תְּקוּף *became foxy*, M. MS., Taan. 7 *a*, H MS., B. M. 106 *b;* נְבוֹג *rose up, came up*, Sanh. 82 *a;* בְּרוֹק ברוקה *the bright star has shone forth*, a Babylonian saying quoted in *Jer. Talm.*, R. H. 57 *b;* כְּרוֹךְ *partook*, M. MS., Ber. 46 *a;* ed. Ven., *ibid*. 57 *b*.[2]

3d sing. fem.[3]—§ 238. *a*) [B קִטְלַת, קְטָלַת; T קְטָלַת; M קיטלאת; S ܩܶܛܠܰܬ].—גְּנַבָה *she stole*, Ned. 34 *b;* פְּקַעָה *burst*, *ibid*. 50 *a;* שְׁמַעַת *heard*. שְׁלַחָא *sent*, Ber. 51 *b*.[4]

b) [B קִטְלַת; T קְטֵילַת; M קיטלאת; S ܩܶܛܠܰܬ].—סְלִיקָא *ascended*, Keth. 104 *a:* בְּעִיתָא *was afraid*, Bêç. 25 *b;* שְׁכֵיבָא *died*, Ber. 18 *b*. Sabb. 151 *b;* טְרֵיקָא *stung*, Ber. 58 *b*.[5]

2d sing. masc.[6]—§ 239. *a*) [B קְטַלְתְּ, קְטַלְתָּ; T קְטַלְתָּא, קְטַלְתְּ; M קטאלת; S ܩܛܰܠܬ].—כְּתַבְתְּ *didst write*, Ḥag. 4 *b;* שְׁקַלְתְּ *didst take*, B. M. 63 *b;* סְלַקְתְּ *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 *b;* גְּנַבְתְּ *didst steal*, *ibid*. 56 *b;* שְׁמַעַתְּ *didst hear*, Ned. 6 *a;* פְּשַׁעַתְּ *didst commit a crime*, B. Q. 85 *a*.

b) [B תְּ–, תָּא–, קְטֵילְתְּ; T קְטֵילְתְּ; M קטילת; S ܩܛܶܠܬ].—סְלֵיקְתְּ *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 *b;* טְחֵינְתְּ *didst grind*, Sanh. 95 *b;* [קְ]נְסֵיבְתְּ *hast married*, Sand. 97 *a;* פְּרֵיסְתְּ *didst spread out*, Qidd. 29 *b*.

2d sing. fem.[7]—§ 240. *a*) [T עבדתין; S ܩܛܰܠܬܝ].—קְטַלִית *didst kill*, Keth. 65 *a;* שְׁקַלִית, Tam. 32 *b;* זְבַנִית *didst buy*, B. M. 51 *a;* קְטַלִית *didst kill*, *ibid*. 59 *a*.

1st sing. com.[8]—§ 241. *a*) [B קִטְלֵת; T קְטָלִית, קטלת; M קיטלית; S ܩܶܛܠܶܬ].—עֲבַדִית *I did;* Sabb. 145 *b;* סְלַקִית *I rose*, Ber. 57 *a;* כְּבַשִׁית *conquered*, Sanh. 95 *a;* שְׁמַעִית *heard*, B. Q.

[1] B = Bibl. Aramaic, T = Targumic Aramaic, M = Mandaic, S = Syriac.

[2] *Cf.* שְׁרוּג, *HG*. ed. princ., 79 *c*.

[3] *Cf.* § 200.

[4] The spelling קטלא, קטלת (never קי״) shows that this form is like that of T.

[5] This last verb is not Pa"ēl as Jastrow thinks

[6] *Cf.* § 201. [7] *Cf.* § 202. [8] *Cf.* § 203.

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67 *a;* שְׁקַלְת *took*, M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b;* עֲבַדִי *did*, Pes. 103 *a;*[1] גְּנַבִי *stole*, B. Q. 65 *a;* נְשַׁקִי *kissed*, Ber. 56 *b;* שְׁתַלִי *I planted*, Taan. 23 *a;* שְׁלַחִי *I sent*, M. Q. 16 *b.*[2]

b) [B קְטַלֵת; T קְטֵילִית; M קיטלית; S ܩܛܠܬ].—שְׁפֵילִית *I went down*, Sabb. 116 *b;* כְּתִיבַת *wrote*, *ibid.* 105 *a;* שְׁקֵילִי *took*, *ibid.* 156 *b;* שְׁבֵיקִי *left*, Keth, 53 *a;* בְּעֵיתִי *was afraid*, Nid. 13 *a;* נְסֵיבִי *took*, *married*, Sanh. 97 *a;* חֲתֵימִי *signed*, B. B. 167 *a;* סְלֵיקִי *ascended*, M. MS., Ber. 57 *a;* זְבֵינִי *I bought*, Sōtā 13 *a.*

c) [T קְטוֹלִית].—שְׁתוֹקִי *I kept silence*, Sabb. 29 *b;* כְּרוֹכִי *I partook*, M. MS., Ber. 49 *a.*

3d plur. masc.—§ 242. *a*) [BT קְטַלוּ; Pal. Talm. קטלון; M קטאל; S ܩܛܠܘ, ܩܛܠ].—שְׁפַאעוּ *dripped profusely*, C. MS., M. Q. 25 *b;* עֲרַקוּ *fled*, B. B. 8 *a;* בְּדַקוּ *searched*, Ber. 44 *a;* הֲדַרוּ *returned*, *ibid.* 10 *a;* שְׁמַעִי *heard*, *ibid.* 56 *a;*[3] עֲבַדוּ *made*, Gitt. 57 *a;* מְרַדוּ *rebelled*, *ibid.* שְׁתַלִי *planted*, Taan. 23 *a.*

b) [B קְטַלוּ; T קְטִילוּ, קטילון; M קטיל; S ܩܛܠܘ, ܩܛܠ].—שְׁתִיקוּ *they kept silence*, Qid. 70 *b*, Sabb. 29 *b;* שְׁכִיבוּ *died*, Sanh. 97 *a;* סְלִיקוּ, Sanh. 26 *a;* כְּרִיכוּ, Ber. 22 *b;* כְּפִיתוּ *tied*, *ibid.* 56 *b;* שְׁלִימוּ *were completed*, M. Q. 28 *b;* תְּקִיפוּ *became foxy*, Ber. 5 *b* (M. MS. תְּקוּף, Bēth Nāthān אִיתְקוּף, *cf.* § 87); כְּפִיתִין *they tied*, M. MS., Ber. 56 *b.*

c) [T קְטוּלוּ].—כְּרוּכוּ *ate*, Ber. 22 *b*, ed. Ven.

d) *With final vowel thrown back:*[4] הֲדוּר *returned*, Sanh. 26 *a;* עֲבוּד *did*, Zeb. 99 *b;* סְלוּק Taan. 23 *b;* קְבוּר *buried*, Sanh. 26 *b;* סְמוּךְ *relied*, *ibid.* 26 *a;* גְּזוּר *decreed*, Macc. 20 *a;* גְּזוּל *robbed*, B. M. 62 *a;* זְבוּחַ *slaughtered*, Ḥull. 4 *b;* נְפוּל *fell upon*, Gitt. 57 *a;* סְבוּר *were of opinion*, *ibid.* 56 *a;* חֲרוּב *were destroyed*, Meg. 4 *a;* נְהוּר *are bright*, Taan. 10 *a;* חֲשׁוּךְ *are dark*, *ibid.*

3d plur. fem.—§ 243. נְפַלָן *they fell*, Sōtā 13 *a;* נְתַרָן *dropped out*, *ibid.;* נְפַקָן *came out*, Sanh. 101 *a.*

2d plur. masc.—§ 244. *a*) [BT קְטַלְתּוּן; M קטאלתון; S ܩܛܠܬܘܢ].—עֲבַדִיתוּן *ye did*, Ned. 65 *a.*[5]

[1] *Cf.* בְּלַאעִי *I swallowed*, *HG.* ed. pr. 105 *b.*

[2] מְסַרִית *I committed*, *HG.* ed. pr. 119 *d;* פְּרַעִית *I paid*, *ibid.* 98 *a;* שְׁלַחִית *I sent*, *ibid.* 47 *c.*

[3] לְקִיטִי : תשו' הג' ed. Harkavy, § 241.

[4] *Cf.* §§ 71, 78, 231.

[5] *Cf.* § 232; פְּטַרְתּוּן, *HG.* ed. pr. 143 *a.*

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b) [TM קְטַילְתּוּן; S ܩܛܰܠܬܽܘܢ].—עֲבֵידְתּוּן Ned. 25 *a;* עֲבֵידִיתוּ Sanh. 108 *b;*[1] שְׁקֵילְתוּ *ye took, ibid.* 110 *a;* עֲסֵיקְתוּ *busied yourselves*, Yeb. 105 *a;* קְטֵיפְתוּ *break off*, Arûkh, A. Z. 72 *b;* מְהַלִיתוּ *circumcise yourselves*, Sanh. 29 *a* ('En Yaq. מְהֵילְתוּ).[2]

1st plur. com.—§ 245. *a*) [B קְטַלְנָא; T קְטַלְנָא, קטלנך; M קטאלינן; S ܩܛܰܠܢ, ܩܛܰܠܢܰܢ].—פְּתַרְנָא *we explained*, Tam. 32 *a;* חֲתַמְנָא *we signed*, B. B. 164 *a;* שְׁקַלְנָא *took*, B. Q. 108 *b;* הֲדַרַן *returned*, B. B. 74 *b;* פְּשַׁטְנָא *explained*, Ḥull. 77 *a;* עֲבַרִינַן *we crossed*, Ned. 22 *b;* פְּרַקִינַן *we redeemed*, Gitt. 38 *a;* סְבַרִינַן *we thought*, סְלַקִינַן *we disembarked*, B. B. 73 *b*.

b) [B קְטַלְנָא; T קְטֵילְנָא; M קטילנין; S ܩܛܰܠܢ, ܩܛܰܠܢܰܢ].—שְׁכֵיבַן *we slept*, Sanh. 7 *a;* זְבֵינַן *bought*, R. MS., B. B. 126 *a*.

c) עֲרוּקִינַן *we fled*, B. B. 8 *a*.[1]

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*[3]—§ 246. *a*) [B יִקְטַל; T יִקְטוֹל, (יִקְטוּל); M ניקטול; S ܢܶܩܛܽܘܠ].—לִיכְתּוֹב *writes*, M. Q. 8 *a;* לִיטְעוֹם *tastes*, Sabb. 11 *a;* לִטְעוֹם, Ned. 22 *b;* לִמְעוֹל *transgresses, ibid.* 54 *a;* לִיסְלוֹק *ascends*, Sabb. 110 *a;* נִיגְזוֹר *decrees*, M. Q. 14 *b;* לִיחְרוֹב *is destroyed, ibid.* 9 *b;* לִיחְרוֹךְ *roasts*, Pes. 40 *a;* לִיחְשׁוֹב *counts*, Macc. 22 *a;* לִיהְדּוֹק *squeezes*, Sabb. 139 *b;* לֶיעֱבוֹר *transgresses*, Ned. 4 *ab;* נִטְרוֹק *bolts*, Er. 102 *a*.

b) [T יִקְטִיל].—לִיסְלֵיק Gitt. 67 *b*, Sabb. 141 *a;* לִיסְחֵיף *upturns*, Sabb. 110 *a;* לִיזְבֵּין *buys, ibid.* 140 *b;* נֶיעֱבֵיד *does, ibid.* 134 *b;* לֶיעֱבֵיד, *ibid.* 81 *a*, Ber. 30 *a;* לַחְלֵיף *passes by*, Gitt. 56 *b;* לֶיחֱשֵׁיב *counts*, Nāz. 21 *a;* לִיפְסֵיד *has loss*, B. M. 109 *b*.[4]

c) [BT יִקְטַל; M ניקטאל; S ܢܶܩܛܰܠ].—לִיפְתַּח *begins*, Ned. 3 *a;* לִיסְבַּר *reasons*, Sabb. 63 *a;* לִיזְרַע *sows, ibid.* 85 *a;* לִישְׁוַאר ('Arûkh לִישְׁוַור) *jumps, ibid.* 110 *a;* לִיחְשַׁב *counts, ibid.* 74 *a;* נִיהְדַק *pushes in, ibid.* 139 *b;* לִיחְרַב *is destroyed*, Gitt. 56 *a;* לֶיעֱבַד *does*, A. Z. 28 *b;* נִיחְוַור *is white*, B. Q. 69 *a;* לִיקְרַב Sanh. 3 *b*.

3d sing. fem.—§ 247. *a*) תִּישְׁקוֹל *takes*, Sabb. 110 *b;* תַּחֲלוֹץ *takes off the shoe*, Yeb. 105 *a*.

c) תִּשְׁלַח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 *a;* תִּכְחַשׁ (§23, *c*) *deteriorates*, MS. H. B. M. 104 *b*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 248. *a*) תִּיקְטוֹל *killest*, Pes. 25 *b;* תִּפְשׁוֹט *explainest*, Sabb. 3 *b*.

[1] *Cf.* § 232, *a*.

[2] This seems to be a kind of precative perfect.

[3] A few forms occur without ל: יִחְרוֹב Nāz. 32 *b;* יִמְלוֹךְ A. Z. 10 *a;* יִמְלַךְ *ibid.;* יֵעָקֵר *ibid.* 16 *a;* יִלְבַּשׁ Ber. 28 *a*. *Cf.* § 207.

[4] *Cf.* לִישְׁחֵיט *HG.* ed. princ. 126 *c*, נַחֲלֵיף *ibid.* 59 *a;* but לִיחְלוֹף *ibid.* 59 *b*.

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b) תַּחֲלֵיף *passest by*, Yômâ 18 *a*.

c) תֶּיחֱרַט *regrettest*, Pes. 113 *a;* תֶּחֱצַד *harvestest*, M. Q. 9 *b;* תִּרְתַּח *gettest angry*, Ber. 29 *b;* תִּקְרַב *approachest*, Sabb. 13 *a*.

2d sing. fem.—§ 249. [BT תִּקְטְלִין; M תיקטול, תיקטאל; S ܬܶܩܛܠܺܝܢ].—תִּדְחֲלִין B. M. 84 *b;* תִּדְחֲלִי *fearest*, Sabb. 63 *b;* תַּעַבְדִי *doest*, M. Q. 27 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 250. *a*) אֶחְצוֹד *I harvest*, M. Q. 9 *b;* אֶיזְבּוֹן *buy*, B. B. 30 *b;* אֶדְרוֹשׁ *lecture*, Sabb. 80 *b;* אֶשְׁקוֹל *remove*, Meg. 16 *a;* אֶיבְדּוֹק *I try*, Yeb. 65 *a*.

b) אֶמְזֵיג *I mix wine*, Ned. 55 *a;* אֶיעֱבֵיד *I do*, Gitt. 56 *a*, Sabb. 81 *b*.

c) אֶגְמַר *I learn*, Nid. 48 *a;* אֶשְׁמַע *hear*, Ber. 24 *b;* אֶזְרַע *sow*, M. Q. 9 *b*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 251. BT יִקְטְלוּן; M ניקיטלון; S ܢܶܩܛܠܽܘܢ].—1) *With stem-vowel omitted:* לֶיעֶבְדוּן, M. MS., B. B. 156 *a;* לִיהַדְרוּן *return*, C. MS., M. Q. 9 *b;* לִירְהֲטוּ *run*, Ḥull. 51 *a;* לִיזְבְּנוּ *buy*, Sabb. 75 *b;* נִיהַדְרוּ Ber. 37 *a;* נִכְתְּבוּ *write*, Gitt. 66 *a;* לִישְׁמְעוּ A. Z. 2 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.*, לִישְׁמְעִי); לֶיעֶבְדוּ Sanh. 95 *b;* לֶיעֶבְדִי *ibid.* 96 *b;* לִיתְפְּסִי *take hold*, Yeb. 92 *b;* נִיפְלְגִי *give a share*, Sabb. 116 *b*.[1]

2) *With retained stem-vowel:* נִגְרוּסוּ *study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b;* לַעֲרוּקוּ *flee*, B. B. 8 *a;* לַעֲבִידוּ *do*, *ibid.* 156 *a*.

3) *With final vowel thrown back:* נִזְבּוּן *buy*, Ber. 53 *a;* נִפְרוּס, Bêçâ 30 *a;* לִיסְהוּד *testify*, Yeb. 31 *b;* לִיפְשׁוּט *unloosen*, Gitt. 69 *a*.

3d plur. fem.—§ 252. לִיהַדְרָן *they return*, ʽEn Yaq., M. Q. 9 *b*.

2d plur. masc.—§ 253. 1) תִּיזְבְּנוּן *ye buy*, Taan. 24 *a;* תִּדְחֲלוּן *are afraid*, B. B. 10 *a;* תִּדְרְשׁוּן *teach*, Bêçâ 28 *a;* תִּגְמְרוּ *learn*, B. B. 130 *b;* תַּעַבְדוּ, *ibid.* 10 *a*.

2) תַּעֲבִידוּ, B. B. 130 *b*, M. MS. *ibid.* תַּעֲבִידוּן.

1st plur. com.—§ 254. *a*) נִישְׁבּוֹק *we leave*, Sabb. 119 *b;* נִיקְטוֹל, Sanh. 82 *b;* נִיגְזוֹר *decree*, Pes. 105 *a;* נַעֲרוֹב *associate*, Sôtâ 21 *a;* לִיפְלוֹג *divide*, *ibid.*

b) נַעֲבֵיד, Sabb. 37 *b*, Gitt. 56 *a;* נִקְטֵיל Pes. 12 *a*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 255. *a*) [B קְטֹל; T קְטוֹל; M קטול; S ܩܛܘܽܠ].—רְקוֹד *dance*, Ned. 51 *a;* פְּלוֹט *spit out*, *ibid.* 49 *b;* שְׁפוֹךְ *pour out*, Ber. 62 *b;* שְׁקוֹל *take*, B. B. 6 *b;* גְּדוֹשׁ *put up a stack*, B. Q. 59 *b*.

[1] *Cf.* לֶיעֶבְדִין, *Igg. Šerirâ*, p. 23, ed. Brüll; יִסְהֲדִין Harkavy's ed. of תשׁ׳ הגא׳, § 54.

b) [T קְטֵיל].—סְגֵיד *worship*, Meg. 16 *b*; זְקֵיף *hang up*, B. M. 59 *b*; טְעֵים *taste*, Ber. 5 *b*; גְּחֵין *bow down*, B. M. 59 *a*; שְׁקֵיל *take*, Sabb. 142 *b*; עֲבֵיד *do*, Bekh. 8 *b*, Gitt. 68 *b*; פְּסֵיק *cut off*, Sabb. 75 *a*; לֵךְ *go*, only in one proverb, Sabb. 13 *a*; עִיבֵיד, Ned. 51 *a* and elsewhere (§ 13).

c) [T קְטַל; M קטאל; S ܩܛܘܠ].—שְׁלַח *take off*, Ber. 28 *a*; שְׁמַע *hear*, Ned. 7 *b*; פְּרַע *pay*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; פְּלַח *serve*, A. Z. 18 *a*; מְשַׁךְ *drag, carry*, B. Q. 93 *a*; בְּחַר *choose*, Yeb. 63 *a*; by analogy with ל״י verbs, בְּרְדִי (§ 259, *i*, note), 'Arûkh, Nāz. 4 *b*; פְּרַעִין *pay*, Šebu. 41 *b*, is probably a feminine used for masculine.

Sing. fem.—§ 256. *a*) [B קְטֻלִי; T קְטוּלִי; Jer. Talm.: קוטלין, קטלין; S ܩܛܘܠܝ].—שְׁקוּלִי *take*, Meg. 18 *a*; נְהוּגִי *conduct*, M. Q. 16 *b*.

b) [T קְטִילִי].—עֲבִידִי *do*, Yeb. 63 *a*; נְהִיגִי M. MS., M. Q. 16 *b*; שְׁתִיקִי *keep silent*, Keth. 103 *a*, 'En Yaq. (§ 23 *c*).

c) [T קְטַלִי; S ܩܛܘܠܝ].—שְׁבַקִי *leave*, Ber. 31 *b*; תְּבַרִי *break*, Ned. 66 *b*; and with loss of stem-vowel פִּירְחִי *fly, flee*, Pes. 111 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.* פְּרַחִין).

Plur. masc.—§ 257. *a*) [B קְטֻלוּ; T קְטוּלוּ; Palest. Talm. קוטלון; S ܩܛܘܠܘ, ܩܛܘܠܘܢ].—כְּתוּבוּ *write ye*, B. B. 40 *a*; עֲרוּקוּ *flee*, *ibid.* 8 *a*; טְרוּקוּ *bolt*, Ber. 28 *a*; לְחוּשׁוּ *whisper*, Yôma 82 *b*; שְׁקוּלוּ Er. 94 *a*; שְׁקוּלֵי Sanh. 26 *a*, Qidd. 81 *a*; with omitted stem-vowel: בִּידְקוּ *examine*, Gitt. 68 *b*.

b) [T קְטִילוּ].—כְּתִיבוּ *write*, Yôma 77 *a*; טְעִימוּ *taste*, Pes. 111 *a*; עֲבִידוּ *do*, Bekh. 8 *b*; בְּעִירוּ *remove*, Pes. 5 *b*.

c) [T קְטַלוּ; Palest. Talm. קטלון; S ܩܛܘܠܘ, ܩܛܘܠܘܢ, ܩܛܠܘ].—פְּתַחוּ *open ye*, Sabb. 41 *a*; הֲדַרוּ *return*, Sanh. 26 *a*; זְרַעוּ *sow*, *ibid.*; כְּתַבוּ B. B. 40 *a*; קְטַפוּ *break off*, A. Z. 72 *b*; with omitted stem-vowel: מִישְׁחוּ *measure*, Bekh. 8 *b*.

d) With epenthetic vowel: הֲדוּרוּ *return*, Gitt. 68 *b*; עֲטוּפוּ *cover yourselves*, M. Q. 28 *b*. The last example may also be explained as singular.

Plur. fem.—§ 258. *a*) [B קְטֻלְנָא; S ܩܛܘܠܝܢ, ܩܛܘܠܝܢ̈].—קְטוּלִין *kill ye*, Sabb. 12 *a*. But this single example is doubtful. O. MS. has for it קְטַלִינְהוּ, and the form קְטוּלִין may also contain the objective suffix. מִידְהֲלַן *have yourselves circumcised*, Sanh. 39 *a*, M. MS.

INFINITIVE.—§ 259. The usual form is מִקְטַל; the other forms occur sporadically.

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a) miqtāl: לְמִשְׁקַל *to take*, Ned. 12 *b*, 37 *a*; לְמִיסְבַּל *to stand, suffer, ibid.* 51 *a*; לְמֶיעְבַּד *to do, ibid.* 76 *a*; מֶיעְקַר *to annul*, Nāz. 21 *b*; מִישְׁרַק *to gulp*; מִשְׁטַר *to smear, ibid*; מִיקְדַּשׁ *to be holy*, Nāz. 22 *b*.

b) miqtāl: לְמִטְבּוֹל, Nidd. 66 *b*.

c) miqtīl: מִצְמֵית *to harden*, Pes. 41 *a*, 74 *b*; מִקְלֵישׁ *to weaken*, Ned. 68 *a*; מִיפְּשֵׁיט *to be clear*, Pes. 83 *b*; מִקְפֵּיד *to be particular*, A. Z. 31 *a*; מִזְרֵיק *to cause soreness*, 'En Ya'aq., A. Z. 28 *b*.

d) miqtāla, miqtīla (§ 223 *a*): מִשְׁטְחָא, B. B. 29 *b*; לְמִישְׁטְחָא *to spread*, B. M. 106 *a*; מֶיעְבְּדָא *to do*, Sabb. 50 *a*; לְמִיזְרְעָה *to sow*, B. M. 106 *b*; מִשְׁתְּקָה *to keep silence*, Qidd. 13 *a*; לְמִשְׁלְפָא *to take off*, Gitt. 56 *b*; לְמִשְׁטְפָא *to deluge*, Succ. 53 *a*; לְמִיקְרְבָא *to approach*, M. Q. 28 *a*.

e) miqtālē, miqtilē (§ 226): מִיהְדְּרֵי *to take back*, 'Ar. 23 *a*; מִשְׁקְלֵי *to be balanced, ambiguous, ibid.* 18 *b*; מִיגְמְרֵי *to learn*, Hôr. 12 *a*.

f) qūtūl: נְדוֹר *to vow*, Ned. 21 *b*; לְקְסוֹם *to divine*, Gitt 68 *b*; לְסְמוֹךְ *to lean*, Er. 15 *a*; לְמְעוֹם *to taste*, Ber. 28 *b*; לִשְׁקוֹל *to take*, Me'īlā 17 *b*.

g) qātāl or qitāl: טְרַח *to trouble*, Yômā 19 *a*, 'Arūkh, Ḥull. 51 *a*; עֲנַשׁ *to punish*, M. Q. 25 *a*; [בְּלָעָא *to swallow it*, B. B. 74 *b*; but this may also be the emphatic participle בָּלְעָא].

h) qūtūlē: לְפְרוֹשֵׁי *to withdraw*, M. MS., Šebu. 18 *b*; לְעֲבוֹרֵי *to cross*, Pes. 74 *b*; לְדְבוֹקֵי *to attach oneself*, Keth. 111 *b*; לְפְלוֹחֵי *to serve*, Ber. 27 *b*; חֲשׁוֹבֵי *to have in mind*, Zeb. 36 *a*; צְמוֹתֵי *to harden*, Pes. 41 *a*; שְׁלוֹפֵי *to pull out*, M. Q. 4 *b*; שְׁלוֹפֵי *to draw out*, Yeb. 102 *b*.

i) qitālā: לְשְׁטָחָא *to spread out*, M. MS., B. B. 29 *b*.

j) qatlūįē, qitlūįē: (by analogy with verbs ל״י): פַּרְדּוּיֵי,[1] פִּירְדּוּיֵי, פַּרְדּוֹי, 'Arūkh, Nāz. 4 *b*.[2]

NOTE.—Our idiom shows a tendency to use the form קטולי as an absolute infinitive with finite verbs of all conjugations. For this reason many of the forms given under *lit. g* are doubtful, as they may belong to Pa''ēl, although used as inner object to verbs of Qal. There is, however, no doubt that some of these forms are used as Qal.

[1] *Cf.* Jastrow, s. v. פְּרִי.

[2] In later literature: לְמְהַדַר (voc.), *HG.* 34; לְמִימְחוֹג *TG.* ed. Cassel, § 104; אִגְמוֹר *Igg. Šerīrā*, p. 8; לְקְבוֹעֵי *MV.*, p. 40.

Active Participle.—§ 260. The form of the active participle is קָטֵיל (or קָטֵיל), the vowel of the second syllable being syncopated when the word is lengthened. The vowel of the first syllable is sometimes changed to *ĭ*, *ē*, or *ai* (§§ 69, 80). Verbs whose last stem-consonant is a guttural, or ר, take *ă* in the second syllable (§ 73). In the lengthened forms *ā* is shortened to *ă* in traditional pronunciation (§ 76). In the feminine the ending ־ת is very rare (§ 224). As this participle is mostly used with verbal force, the determinate state is very rare.

Sing. masc.—§ 261. *a*) סָלֵיק *leaves off*, Ned. 2 *b*, 30 *b*; דָּרֵישׁ *explains*, *ibid.* 3 *a*; עָבֵיד *does*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; סָפֵיד *laments*, Sabb. 90 *b*.

b) פָּתַח *begins*, Ned. 3 *a*; עָבַר *transgresses*, M. Q. 17 *a*; סָבַר *holds*, *ibid.*, 6 *b*; שָׁוַואר *jumps*, B. B. 96 *a* (§ 10); יָדַע *knows*, Ned. 8 *a*; נָגַה *is sufficient*, M. Q. 16 *b*.[1]

Sing. fem.[2]—§ 262. דָּחֲקָה *pushes*, M. Q. 28 *a*; רָהֲטָא *runs*, *ibid.* 9 *b*; עָבְדָה *does*, *ibid.* 17 *a*; הָדְרָא *returns*, Sabb. 151 *a*; מָתְנָא *is wet*, Rašî, Pes. 111 *b* [M. MS. מֵיתְינָא (§§ 69, 86), eds. מַייתְנֵיה (§ 80)].

Plur. masc.—§ 263. פָּתְחִין *open*, Ned. 22 *a*; פָּסְקִין *divide*, *ibid.* 38 *a*; עָבְדִין *would make*, *ibid.* 50 *a*; קָטְלִין *kill*, M. Q. 14 *b*; תָּפְסִי *take hold*, Ned. 6 *b*; בָּטְלִי *are neutralized*, *ibid.* 59 *a*; גָּנְבִי *stole*, *ibid.* 62 *a*; קָטְלוּ *kill*, B. M. 86 *a*; דָּחֲקוּ *importune*, Taan. 23 *b*; שָׁלְחוּ *send*, B. Q. 20 *b*.

Plur. fem.—§ 264. שָׁדְרָן *dragged along*, Ḥull. 51 *a*; שָׁכְבָן *are to die*, Ber. 56 *a*; פָּרְחָן *fly*, *ibid.*; סָלְקָן *come up*, *ibid.* 20 *a*; רִיהֲטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a* (§ 69); נָטְרָן *wait*, Ber. 17 *a*.

Passive Participle.—§ 265. The passive participle has generally retained its nominal force, except when used with following ל to form the periphrastic perfect, or present.[3] It is therefore often found in the determinate state, both in singular and plural. In a few cases the first stem-consonant has *ā*, as in Hebrew (§ 84). Besides the usual form קְטִיל the form קְטוּל is found in a few instances.

Sing. masc.—§ 266. *a*) כְּתִיב *written*, Ned. 3 *a*; שְׁכִיחַ *occurs*, *is frequent*, *ibid.* 33 *b*, 56 *b*; שְׁמִיעַ *heard*, *ibid.* 41 *a*; עֲבִיד *is made*, *ibid.* 54 *b*; כְּתַב, Sabb. 116 *b*; צְרִיךְ, Ned. 3 *a* and frequent;

[1] *Cf.* הָדֵיר *HG.* 377; פָּרֵיעַ *ibid.* 402.

[2] *Cf.* § 224.

[3] The ל is sometimes omitted: שְׁמִיעַ *has heard*, Ber. 5 *b*, for שְׁמִיעַ לֵיהּ; סְנִיאָה *hated*, Sabb. 26 *a* (the following לָהּ is object).

[4] צְרִירִיךְ in *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 20.

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עָדִיף *is preferable*, Pes. 95 *b*.—*e.* קְטִילָא *killed*, Pes. 111 *b*, Sanh. 65 *a;* רְטִיבָא *wet*, *ibid.* 93 *a;* זְמִינָא *invited*, Ned. 24 *a;* צְנִיעָא *pious*, *chaste*, Men. 49 *a*.

b) שְׁמוּט *compressed*, Bekh. 43 *b;* סְמוּךְ *laid on hands*, Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *a;* רְקוּעַ *extended*, M. Q. 28 *a*, ʻArûkh; מְזוּג *mixed*, Yômâ 81 *b;* נְהוֹר *shines*, Sabb. 116 *b;* תְּבוּר *broken*, *ibid*, 67 *a*.—*e.* חֲרוּכָא *burnt*, M. MS., B. M. 85 *a*, eds. Sanh. 37 *a*.

Sing. fem.—§ 267. *a*) לְבִישָׁא *clad*, Ber. 20 *a;* עֲבִידָא *used*, *apt*, Ned. 91 *a;* צְרִיכָא *is necessary*, *ibid.;* טְרִידָא *troublesome*, *ibid.* 25 *a;* *e.* צְמִירְתָּא *burning*, Sabb. 67 *a*, Pes. 25 *b;* חֲרִיפְתָּא *sharp*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a* (voc.); קְלִישְׁתָּא *weak*, Yeb. 113 *a*.

b) שְׁקוּלָא *is taken*, Sabb. 63 *b;* כְּרוּכָה *wrapped up*, Gitt. 68 *a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 268. *a*) שְׁקִילִין *are taken*, Sabb. 63 *b;* פְּלִיגִי *differ*, Ned. 7 *a;* טְרִפֵי *spotted*, *ibid.* 25 *a;* חֲשִׁיבֵי *of importance*, Ber. 16 *b;* עֲבִדֵי *used to*, Keth. 60 *b;* נְגִידוּ *stretched out*, Sabb. 138 *a;* תְּקִילִין *of full weight*, B. M. 44 *b;* שְׁכִיחֵי *are found*, *occur*, M. Q. 12 *b*.

b) שְׁקוּלֵי *ambiguous*, ʻAr. 18 *b;* חֲשׁוּבֵי *noble*, A. Z. 10 *b;* גְּמוּרֵי *absolute*, Ber. 61 *b*, Sôtâ 31 *a;* שְׁמוּטֵי *long-necked*, Keth. 60 *b;* תְּקוּלֵי *of full weight*, B. M. 69 *b;* סְבוּרֵי *hold*, B. Q. 112 *b*.[1]

Plur. fem.—§ 269. *a*) עֲבִידָן *are made*, Ned. 38 *b;* נְסִיבָן *married*, Ber. 43 *b;* כְּתִיבָן, כְּתָבָן *written*, Ned. 37 *b*, 38 *a;* *e.* חֲסִיכָתָא *poor*, *bad*, Pes. 48 *a;* חֲשִׁילָתָא *mashed*, Ḥull. 93 *a;* and with double plural ending, צְנִיעָתָן *modest*, *chaste*, Sabb. 140 *b*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.[2]—§ 270. The participles are often combined with the pronouns of the first and the second persons into one word to form the present tense. The third person, as in the perfect, is understood with the bare participle.[3] When thus combined they have the following forms:

[1] פְּלִיגוּן *Igg. Šerîrâ*, p. 12.

[2] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.* § 175 *a*, *SG.* § 269, *NSG.* § 100 *sq.;* Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, § 133; McCurdy, "Assyr. Permansive," in *Transact.* of the Leyden Congress of Orientalists (1883); Zimmern, "Das Verhältnis, des assyr. Permansivs zum semitischen Perfect und zum ägyptischen 'Pseudoparticip,' *ZA.*, V., 1-22."

[3] But *cf.* מִצְטָרְכִינוּן *they need*, Alfâsî, B. M. 49 *r;* אָמְרִינוּן *they say, one says*, ʻArûkh, Šebu. 46 *a;* עָבְדִינוּן *one does*, *TG.* ed. Cassel, § 91. All these forms, however, are doubtful; the ן might denote קָמֶץ (§ 70, note 3) and the pronouns be the first person plural. The form נוּן— may also be a by-form of נוּ— as נָן— is of נָא— (§ 271 *c*, note).

Singular masculine.			*Singular feminine.*		
קָטֵיל אֲנָא	becomes	קָטֵלְנָא	קָטְלָא אֲנָא	becomes	קָטְלָנָא
קְטִיל אֲנָא	"	קְטִילְנָא	קְטִילָא אֲנָא	"	[קְטִילָנָא][1]
קָטֵיל אַתְּ	"	קָטְלַתְּ	קָטְלָא אַתְּ	"	קָטְלַת
קְטִיל אַתְּ	"	קְטִילַתְּ	קְטִילָא אַתְּ	"	קְטִילַת

Plural masculine.[2]

קָטְלִין אֲנַן	becomes	קָטְלִינַן[3]
קְטִילִין אֲנַן	"	קְטִילִינַן
קָטְלִין אַתּוּ(ן)	"	קָטְלִיתּוּ(ן)[4]
קְטִילִין אַתּוּ(ן)	"	קְטִילִיתּוּ(ן)

For variations in form of pronouns *cf.* § 98 and examples below (§§ 271–2). For plural 1st person used for singular *cf.* § 106.

References.—§ 271. *a*) עָבֵידְנָא *I do*, Ned. 5 *a;* טָעֵימְנָא *I taste*, *ibid.* 22 *b;* זָבֵינְנָא *I buy*, Er. 100 *b;* זָיֵינָא *I feed, support*, Gitt. 56 *a* (§ 50, 6); זָבֵינָא *I buy*, B. B. 30 *b;* נָדַרְנָא *I vow*, Ned. 9 *a;* שָׁמַעְנָא *I hear*, *ibid.* 72 *b;* שְׂבֵיעְנָא *I am satiated*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b* (§ 73); פָּשֵׁטְנָא *I explain*, Taan. 21 *a* (§ 106); שְׁקִלְנָא *I take*, *ibid.* 24 *a*, and frequently; אֲנָא אָזְלִין *I will go*, Me'ilā 17 *b;*[5] נְהִירְנָא *I shout*, 'Arûkh, R. H. 34 *b*, eds. נָהֵירְנָא; this form is perhaps the passive participle.

b) יָדְעַתְּ *knowest*, עָבַרְתְּ *trespassest*, Ned. 23 *a;* סָבַרְתְּ *art of opinion*, Ber. 2 *b;* שָׁמְעַתְּ *thou hearest*, Ned. 3 *b;* but טָעֵימַתְּ *thou tastest*, *ibid.* 22 *b*, with retention of second stem-vowel; קָטְלִית *killest*, Sanh. 48 *b*.—*f.* גָּבְיָאת *collectest payment*, Keth. 43 *b*.

c) שָׁמְעִינַן *we hear*, Ned. 13 *a*, 81 *b*, Ber. 17 *b;* עָבְדִינַן *we do*, R. H. 47 *a;* פָּסְקִינַן *we divide*, Ber. 12 *b;* גָּמְרִינַן *we begin*, *ibid.* 14 *b;* גָּזְרִינַן *we decree*, Ned. 10 *b;* עָסְקִינַן *we treat*, *ibid.* 59 *a*.—דָּכְרִנַן *we remember*, B. M. 8 *b* (§ 232); רָחֲמִינַי *we* (I) *love*, Sanh. 89 *b;* קָטְלִין *we kill*, M. MS., Sanh. 95 *a*.[6]

[1] For bracketed forms I have no examples.

[2] The plural feminine does not occur with enclitic pronouns.

[3] We should expect the last syllable to be נַן, but the traditional pronunciation is נַן.

[4] Whether the תּ retains its daghesh is impossible to tell. In the Targumim it is usually rāphè, but sometimes retains daghesh.

[5] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 64 B.

[6] In later literature: הֲוָה אָזְלִין *I was going*, Še'ēlt., ch. 1; מְהַלְנִין *we circumcise*, *ibid.*, ch. 93; יָהֲבִינַן *we give*, *MV.*, p. 85; קָטְלִינַן *we kill*, *ibid.* 76.

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d) עָרְבִיתּוּן *ye pledge yourselves*, Sanh. 39 *b;* תָּמְהִיתּוּ *ye are astonished*, *ibid.* 95 *a;* אָמְרִיתּוּ, Ned. 81 *a;* אָמְרִיתּוּן *ye say*, *ibid.* 25 *a;* חָכְמִיתּוּ *ye are wise*, Ber. 56 *a;* עָבְדִיתּוּן *ye do*, B. M. 73 *a;* שָׁקֵילְתּוּ *ye take*, Sanh. 110 *a*, B. M. 109 *a*.

§ 272. *a*) גְּמִירְנָא *I have learned*, R. H. 23 *a*, Sabb. 63 *a;* דְּכִירְנָא *I remember*, Taan. 20 *b;* נְהִירְנָא *I remember*, *ibid.* 19 *b;* חֲשִׁיבְנָא *I am esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b;* חֲשִׁידְנָא *I am suspected*, Ber. 5 *b*.

b) חֲשִׁיבַתְּ *thou art esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b;* צְרִיכַתְּ *thou art in need of*, B. M. 33 *a*, Ber. 13 *b;* פְּטִירַתְּ *art free*, *ibid.* 11 *a;* רְגִילִית *thou art wont*, Meg. 28 *a;* עֲצִיבַת *thou art pained*, Taan. 25 *a* (*f.*).

c) עֲסִיקִינַן, Ned. 38 *b*, 63 *b;* עֲסִיקְנִין *we are busy*, *treat*, Pes. 90 *b;* עֲדִיפְנִין *we are better*, *worthier*, M. MS., Taan. 24 *a;* פְּלִיגִינַן *we differ*, Er. 10 *b;* נְקִיטִינַן *we accept*, *assume*, Ned. 41 *a;* גְּרִירִינַן *follow*, Taan. 24 *a;* גְּמִירִינַן *we learned*, ed. Ven., Ber. 62 *a*.

d) חֲשִׁיבִיתּוּ *ye are worthy*, Taan. 15 *b;* צְרִיכִתּוּ *ye need*, Sabb. 121 *b;* פְּלִיגִיתּוּ *ye differ*, Er. 10 *b;* גְּמִירִיתּוּ *you have learned*, Col. MS., Pes. 66 *a*.

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Contributed Notes.

THE FAITH OF AL-ISLĀM.*

In my article on *The Faith of al-Islām* in Vol. XII. of this Journal and on p. 117 I leave a gap in the translation of Abū Ḥafṣ an-Nasafī's tractate and add the note: There are four words here of which I can make nothing. Literally they read: *and* (or *although*) *it is not a thing or a man.*

The words were unintelligible to me because I mistranslated them and they were mistranslated because I mis-read them. The whole sentence should run: And what does not exist is known of God Most High just as what exists is known of Him and it (*i. e.*, what does not exist) is not a thing nor an object of vision.

This is a statement of one of the most abstruse doctrines of al-Islām and the part over which I stumbled has not, so far as I know, been discussed by any European Arabist. Perhaps, under these circumstances, a little detail in explaining it may not be out of place. The source on which I draw is the *Itḥāf as-Sāda al-Muttaqīn* by the Sayyid Murtaḍâ (the author of the *Tāj al 'Arūs*), a commentary on the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī in ten large quarto volumes, Cairo, A. H. 1311. In Vol. II., pp. 124 *sq.*, it is treated elaborately under two heads. First, is what does not exist an object of vision to God? And, secondly, can it be described as a thing, an entity? Both points are decided in the negative on the authority of (naql) and with the arguments ('aql) of the schools of both al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī.†

The question may be stated thus: God knows everything, that which exists (al-mawjūb) as well as what does not exist (al-ma'dūm). Is then, seeing God knows it, that which does not exist an object of vision to God? It was argued by some that it must. What exists *now*, was from all eternity (fil-ajl), only lacking the accident ('arḍ not dhāt) of existence; it was ma'dūm, a non-existing thing, and if God sees it now that it is mawjūb, must He not also have seen it then? The answer is that from all eternity it only existed in the knowledge of God (fī 'ilmillāh) and so was only ma'lum and could not be an object of vision. Again it was argued: If God cannot see the ma'dūm is that not a falling short in His attribute (ṣifa) of vision and a detraction from God? The answer is that what does not exist cannot from its nature be seen; the lack is in it, not in the attribute of God which does not come into contact with it. Again: Does this not involve a change in God's attributes that at one time He should see a thing and at another time, not?

* Additions to line 13 of page 117 of AJSL., Vol. XII., 93-117.

† Page 107 of article, AJSL., Vol. XII.

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No, it is a change in the thing with which the attribute comes into contact; creating is an attribute of God from all eternity, but there was a time when the created world was not.

This is a very brief abstract of some of the arguments. The difficulty, it will be seen, essentially goes back to the second question, Is the non-existing a thing, an entity? The decision here is that it is a pure negation (nafy maḥd); but the great body of the Ma'tazilites regarded it as a thing (shay'). They held that there were quiddities (māhīyāt), verities (ḥaqā'iq), entities or essences (dhawāt) in two states, *viz.*, of possessing existence and not possessing existence. In support of this they pointed out that things lacking existence are distinguishable in themselves from one another, and that whatever can be distinguished, one from another, consists of verities individual in themselves. Into this it is unnecessary to go further. The position is clear; it belongs to pre-Kantian metaphysics.

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Book Notices.

ZIMMERN'S BEITRÄGE ZUR KENNTNIS DER BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION.*

The religion and ritual of Babylonia and Assyria have for many years been favourite subjects for speculation and conjecture, but it now appears probable that within a short period speculation will be superseded by ascertained fact. The tablets from the library of Ashurbanipal, which are now preserved in the British Museum, are beginning to yield their secrets to systematic study, each group of connected texts being in turn examined and published. Professor Brünnow's collection of Assyrian hymns, published in 1889–90, has been followed by Dr. Knudtzon's Prayers to the Sun-god, while in the present year, besides Dr. Tallqvist's edition of the Maqlū-series and my own "Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand," there has appeared Professor Zimmern's edition of the Shurpu-series.

This series of tablets, as is well known, was called by the Assyrians Shurpu, or "Burning," from the important part played by fire in the magical incantations which form its principal contents. The composition was written on nine consecutive tablets and may perhaps be best explained as a service-book, containing a number of magical incantations and formulae, the due recital of which with their accompanying ceremonies brought relief to people suffering from bodily sickness or mental disorder. Such afflictions were, in accordance with the ideas of that period, ascribed to supernatural agency, the sufferer being supposed to have become the victim of some evil spirit or sorcerer, or to have incurred a curse through his own injustice or oppression, or finally to have laid himself under a ban by some conscious or unconscious act of impurity. From all such afflictions the gods, and in particular Marduk, could grant release, if appealed to with fitting words and ceremonies. An important collection of such words and ritual is provided in the Shurpu-tablets. That the whole series was not intended for continuous recitation is probable, not only from its length but from the fact that private Assyrians of wealth could have separate tablets copied for their own use. All such questions, however, regarding the actual employment and scope of the composition can only be solved after a careful study of its contents, and we could almost wish that Professor Zimmern had seen his way to summarize, at least provisionally, the conclusions at which he has arrived as the result of his investigations. He has, however, confined himself to the text and its translation, and with these therefore we are alone concerned.

* Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion von Dr. Heinrich Zimmern, a. o. Professor der Assyriologie in Leipzig. Erste Lieferung: Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu. Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*, 1896. (=*Assyriologische Bibliothek*, Band XII.)

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With regard to the text of the nine tablets of which the series was originally composed, that of the sixth is the only one completely preserved; the second, third, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth are wanting in places; the first is entirely missing and the fifth is practically so.* The text is made up from 44 broken tablets and fragments, the three largest of which, belonging to the second, sixth, and seventh tablets of the series, were published by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson in Vol. IV. of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, twelve of their duplicates being made use of in the second edition of that volume; the remainder are here made use of for the first time by Professor Zimmern, to whom belongs the credit of having recognized three of them as belonging to the Šurpu-series, one from its text published by Mr. S. A. Smith, the other two from extracts given by Professor Bezold in the *Catalogue*.

It will be evident from the above brief summary that in parts of his work Professor Zimmern has had to tread a well-worn path, and one can readily understand his confining himself as far as possible to the texts that have not previously been published. While giving a complete text in his transliteration he has not given the corresponding text in cuneiform, neither has he recopied the tablets published in IV R. and in Mr. S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Texts*, though he has collated them with their originals. We cannot help thinking, however, that the author would have placed his readers under still greater obligations had he followed the plan adopted by Dr. Tallqvist, who, besides giving the text of duplicate tablets, adds a composite cuneiform text corresponding sign for sign with his transliteration. Such a plan would have saved the student the necessity of finding his text for himself in other publications, a labor he must again go through every time he wishes to verify a reference. This, however, is an unimportant matter and of course does not affect the general character of the book. With regard to the citing of variant readings the author on p. 57 craves the reader's indulgence for not giving a complete table of variants to the sixth tablet, and all will agree with him that in the case of so well-preserved a tablet the result would perhaps have hardly repaid his time and labor; in some of his restorations from duplicates, however, one could wish that he had briefly stated his grounds for placing certain portions of the text. One instance will serve as an illustration. From the transliteration of Tablet III. as given on pp. 12–20 it would appear that the text was continuous with the exception of one gap of some lines after l. 76. As a matter of fact, however, it is quite possible that gaps occur after ll. 90, 100, and 111. Professor Zimmern has assumed that, because col. i of Sm. 239 ends with l. 50, col. i of K 2959 ended at the same place; it does not follow, however, for in Tablet II., for instance, such close duplicates as K 6423a (which formed part of the same tablet as K 5495 and two other unjoined fragments) and

* It is possible, as Professor Zimmern points out, that the first 59 lines of the sixth tablet according to one recension formed part of the fifth, for K 4649 (Plate XIII.) ends at l. 59 of the sixth tablet, giving l. 60 as a catch-line; the supposition would be more certain, however, if the colophon of K 4649 stated the numbers of the tablets it contained. In this review the sixth tablet, as published in IV R. 7 and 8, is for the sake of simplicity referred to as the sixth tablet and not as the fifth and sixth.

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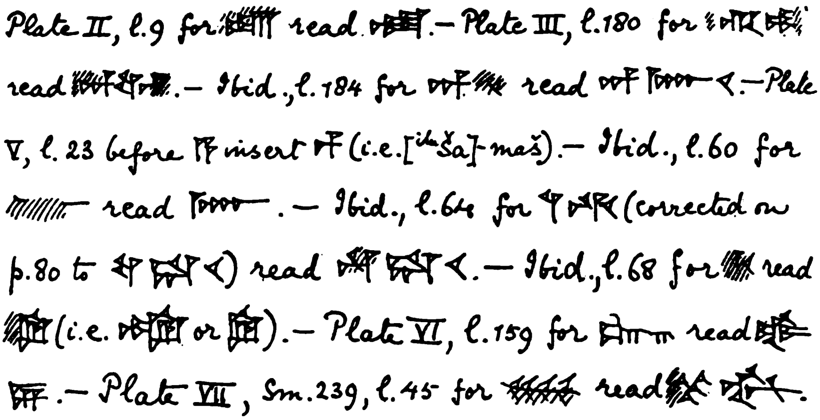
K 150 do not have the same number of lines in each column.* Similarly there is nothing to prove that a gap of only one line occurs between the obv. of Rm. 2, 294, and Sm. 239 (col. ii) or that where Sm. 239 (col. ii) leaves off K 12000z (col. "ii," *i. e.*, col. iii) begins, or that where K 12000z (col. iii) leaves off Sm. 308 (col. iii) begins. It is not contended that Professor Zimmern's arrangement is impossible, but the author should at least have hinted that it is conjectural.

The tablets that Professor Zimmern has copied are published in eighteen plates at the end of the volume; these are very carefully and beautifully autographed, so that at a glance one gets an excellent idea of their actual appearance, the author having even gone so far as to sketch in the holes made for the escape of steam before they were baked. Minute points of orthography, however, are not reproduced; the two common Kuyunjik forms of the sign TI, for instance, are employed indiscriminately, as also are those of Ú, while the two forms of ḪI with their four and five wedges respectively are not distinguished; conventional forms of characters, in fact, are frequently made to do duty for those actually occurring on the tablets. Such matters, however, are of no great importance, and may as a rule be disregarded, except in estimating the probability of "joins" when accuracy sometimes proves of assistance, a scribe being generally consistent with regard to the forms of the characters he employs. With reference to the actual text, Professor Zimmern has himself given a good many corrections in transliteration on p. 80 (*Nachträge und Berichtigungen*), and others have been pointed out by Dr. Meissner,† who had previously copied some of the tablets; I have myself collated most of the tablets and I here subjoin a further list of corrections, in which, though far from being exhaustive, the author will see a proof of the great interest I have taken in his able book.



* The close resemblance of these two tablets is not apparent from Dr. Zimmern's list of variants; it becomes more striking, however, if on p. 8, notes 4 and 5, for "K 150" we read "K 150 und K 6423a," and on p. 4, notes 27, 28, 29 and 30, and p. 6, notes 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7(a), "K 150" be changed to "K 150 und K 5495."

† *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. X., p. 400.

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— Ibid., l. 49 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., K 12000 z, l. 110 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 154 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Plate VIII, Rm. 2, 294, l. 83 for [cuneiform] read [[cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 110 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Plate IX, K 2333, l. 6 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 7 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 8 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 37 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., K 2948, l. 10 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. Plate XIII, K 4649, l. 15 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 24 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 49 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 59 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., K 3378, l. 27 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Plate XIV, l. 11 for [cuneiform] read [[cuneiform]. — Plate XV, K 5375, l. 5 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., K 6026, l. 26 for [cuneiform] (corrected on p. 80 to [cuneiform]) read [cuneiform] (and so too in IV R^2, no. 1, l. 26a). — Ibid., l. 27 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]]. — Ibid., l. 29 for [cuneiform] read [[cuneiform]. — Plate XVI, K 2362, l. 1 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Plate XVII, l. 24 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 32 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]] [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 33 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 35 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform] (i. e. [cuneiform] or [cuneiform]). — Plate XVIII, l. 47 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 61 for [cuneiform] (deleted on p. 80) read [cuneiform]. — Ibid., l. 80 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform]. — Plate XIX, l. 105 for [cuneiform] read [cuneiform].

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It is perhaps needless to say that Professor Zimmern's transliteration and translations in general display great accuracy and acumen. Tablets III., IV., VIII. and IX. are here translated for the first time; with regard to Tablet VI. it was not likely that anyone would greatly improve on Professor Jensen's rendering, but in the case of Tablets II. and VII. not much assistance could be obtained from previous attempts at translation. The many rare words and phrases occurring throughout the composition require for their interpretation a thorough knowledge of the religious and grammatical texts already published, so that the advance Assyriology has made in grammar and lexicography could not be better illustrated than by a comparison of these earlier translations with that of Professor Zimmern, who has now for so many years devoted himself to the study of the published Babylonian and Assyrian literature. In the following list of corrections it will be seen that several are based on the corrections to the text given above.

Tablet II., l. 42, the reading i[ṣ-bat] is not in accordance with the traces on the tablet which are correctly given in IV R.[2]; it is possible, however, to read iṣ-ṣa-bat (I. 2).—*Ibid.*, l. 186, at the end restore ár-ni-šu from K 150 and K 8868.—Tablet III., l. 40, for šammi(?) read kurbanni, *cf.* Brünnow, Nos. 5970 and 5985.—*Ibid.*, l. 49, for [ma-mit ......]-am read [ma-mit ......]-ḫi, and possibly restore [ma-mit ur]-ḫi, the line then reading "the ban of road and bridge," etc.; two signs appear to be missing, however, so perhaps restore ba-li]-ḫi from Tablet VIII., l. 37.—*Ibid.*, l. 60, for nāru[.....] read nārāti *pl.*—*Ibid.*, l. 64, for ma-mit ṣarba-ti, which is corrected on p. 80 to ma-mit A. TU. DU. UD. DU. U, read ma-mit a-tu-du ḳa-du-u, "the ban of the he-goat, the ḳadū-bird," etc.; the sign I read as ḳa can only be ḳa or na, UD is impossible.—*Ibid.*, l. 81, for [......]-du-ti read ṣa-ai-du-ti, and translate the line "the ban of the demons who hunt," etc.—*Ibid.*, l. 82, for [rābi]ṣū(?) read ekimmi.—*Ibid.*, l. 83, for [ma-mit ......] *pl.* read [ma-mit] rābiṣi *pl.*—*Ibid.*, l. 100, for ūm[......] read ūm A[B. AB ...].—*Ibid.*, l. 110, for BAB. KAL. LUḪ, which is corrected on p. 80 to BAB. KAL. GA, read *f.* KAL. GA, *i. e.*, ašṭūtu or ašṭitu, and probably translate "the witch"; the male *amēlu* ašṭu is already known, *cf.* Brünnow, No. 6190.—*Ibid.*, l. 133, Professor Zimmern's correction, p. 80, is more than "probable."—*Ibid.*, l. 159, for [ma-mit..........] read [ma-mit......] ár-ni [......].—Tablet IV., l. 12, for ......] šul-lu-mu read ...amē]lu šul-lu-mu.—*Ibid.*, l. 15, for [......]-ti read ḫi-ṭi-ti.—*Ibid.*, l. 37, for [......] abi read á[r-ra]t abi.—Tablet VII., l. 5, for NI-DÙ read DÙ-DÙ as the equivalent of aḫ-ḫa-zu.—*Ibid.*, l. 11, for [IM-MI-IN]-ŠEŠ-GÀL-LA? ("wohl IB," *cf.* p. 80) -E-NE, the variant reading of K 5146, read [IM-MI-IN]-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ-GÀL-SI-E-NE; Professor Zimmern has here not recognized the Babylonian form of ŠEŠ, while the sign he reads as LA or IB is probably the Babylonian SI written over an erasure; the scribe intersperses Babylonian forms of characters in this tablet, *cf.* E in l. 7 and LI in the catch-line, while the second

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GA in l. 9 is a Babylonian GA corrected to the Assyrian form.—*Ibid.*, l. 25, for [À]-NA read [SU]-NA, and l. 26, for [i]-di-šu read [zu]-mur-šu and translate the lines "his body have they tormented," etc.—*Ibid.*, l. 27, for S[U(?)-B]I read GÀ[L-BAD]-BI and for the equation *cf.* Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 515, and my *Magic and Sorcery*, No. 2, l. 22 and its duplicate B.—*Ibid.*, l. 29, for [. . . . .]-LUḪ read UḪ-LUḪ as the equivalent of [g]u-uḫ-ḫu.—*Ibid.*, l. 39, for i-š[is-si] read i-š[a-as-si].—Tablet IX., l. 24, for ÈN. IN SI read ÈN. ELTEG SI.—*Ibid.*, l. 32, for KI [. . . . .] RA(?) . . . read KI ŠÁR-RA . . . .—*Ibid.*, l. 33, for AN(?) read MUN.—*Ibid.*, l. 36, for ḪE-[. . . . . .] read ḪE-AN-NA.—*Ibid.*, l. 47, for NE(?) read the single character AM+GUL; in K 4872 (V R., 50), col. ii, l. 50, this character occurs as the equivalent of rīmu, where also it is to be read as a single character and not as two signs in spite of I R., 28, 4a (quoted by Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 603).—*Ibid.*, l. 80, for NAM-[LUḪ(?)], which is corrected on p. 80 to NAM-NU[N-N]A, read NAM-EN-NA "lordship."—*Ibid.*, l. 105 (=end of l. 108 according to the arrangement of lines on p. 61) for [. . . . . .]-KID read . . . . . NAM-GÀL-GAL-LU-KID, "mankind," and on p. 61, l. 108, *del.* "-[KID."

In his conjectural restoration of several passages the author has perhaps been a little arbitrary in disregarding without comment the traces of characters still to be seen upon the tablets. For instance in Tablet II., l. 10, the reading it(?)-te(?)-ik-ru is impossible unless we assume a scribal error, the traces on K 5495 being correctly given in the *Additions* to IV R.[2]; the following restorations may also be mentioned as doubtful, as they do not correspond with the traces on the tablets: II., l. 37, im-t[e-eš]; *ibid.*, l. 44 [la kun-na]; III., l. 45 [ma-mit šēdi], where we may perhaps read [ma-mit . . . .] še(?)-dim; *ibid.*, l. 62, na-[aḫ-li]; *ibid.*, l. 161 [ni-su-tu], where there is only room for one sign; IV., l. 36, ta-ni-ḫ[u], of which the second sign is not ni, while ḫu is doubtful.

Similarly several lines appear in Professor Zimmern's transliteration as complete, though they are not so on the tablets; for instance, in II., l. 131, two signs at least are wanting from the end as rightly indicated in IV R., 52 [59], l. 15b, while the traces on K 8868 are certainly not those of MEŠ (as given in Plate III.); *ibid.*, l. 141, two signs at least are missing after ^{ilu}E-[a], as correctly shown in IV R., *ibid.*, l. 25b; in VII., l. 97, and VIII., l. 1, at least one word is missing from the end of the line in addition to the two signs restored, as correctly given in IV R., 19, l. 22b; in VIII., l. 63 does not end with ḫi-[ṭi-ti], more than two signs being missing, while more than one sign is missing from l. 64; *ibid.*, l. 68, UD does not conclude the line, but some signs are missing which formed part of the ideogram or contained the name of another stone.

There are many other points in the book which call for discussion, but I have already exceeded the space allotted to me for my pleasant task. It only remains for me to add that Professor Zimmern has undoubtedly done a useful piece of work and much may be expected

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from him when he has extended his study of the religious tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection and has gained more experience in the copying and editing of Assyrian texts. On behalf of the general reader it may be permitted to express the wish that his future contributions to the subject of Assyrian and Babylonian religion will be made more accessible by means of introductions and fuller explanatory notes.

LEONARD W. KING.

September 15, 1896.

KING'S BABYLONIAN MAGIC AND SORCERY.*

An encouraging symptom of the advance made in the method of Assyriological publications is to be found in the work done during the past two years by such men as Knudtzon, Tallqvist, King, and Zimmern† in gathering together the cuneiform tablets belonging to a single series or class and in presenting the group in such a form as to enable scholars to undertake a systematic study of the remains of Babylonian literature. Now that Bezold's great catalogue of the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum is complete, there is no longer any excuse for what might be termed "promiscuous" publications. Such publications are always of doubtful value and particularly so in the domain of Assyriology.

Mr. King's book is a model of what a systematic publication ought to be. He has chosen as the basis of his work a group of tablets well defined by the formula, "The Lifting up of the Hand," found in the colophon. To these he has added, as an appendix, a number of tablets that illustrate the group in question. He begins by an introduction in which he carefully and succinctly sets forth the character of the group, its distinguishing features, the divisions, the method of composition, the traces of editing that they show, and their contents. In five sections, the tablets of the group selected, are furnished to the reader in accurate transliterations and admirable translations, together with explanations and comments, elaborate where needed, brief where possible. The sixth section contains "Prayers against the evils attending an eclipse of the moon" published in the same complete fashion. A complete vocabulary is added and appendixes containing a list of proper names, a list of numerals, portions of words, and ideographs of uncertain readings. The first part of the whole work is brought to a close by several pages of additions and corrections and two indexes, one to tablets and duplicates and the other to the registration numbers of the tablets published. The second part of the work consists of copies of the cuneiform texts, beauti-

*Leonard W. King—BABYLONIAN MAGIC AND SORCERY, being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand." The cuneiform Texts of a group of Babylonian and Assyrian Incantations and Magical Formulæ, edited with Transliterations, Translations, and Full Vocabulary from Tablets of the Kuyunjik Collections preserved in the British Museum. London: *Luzac & Co.*, 1896. 8vo, xxx + 196 pp. and 76 plates.

†To this list the name of J. A. Craig may now be added, who, according to a recent notice in the London *Academy*, is engaged upon the highly important work of preparing for publication the astrological series known as "The Illumination of Bel."

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fully transcribed. A glance at these copies is sufficient to inspire confidence, and much handling of the copies only increases and justifies this confidence. In respect to completeness, King's publication compares most favorably with Knudtzon's and Tallqvist's recent works, while it is superior, *e. g.*, to Zimmern's "Šurpu" Series, whose commentary is entirely too scanty, and whose book lacks an introduction in which the results of his study of the series published by him are summed up. Special importance is to be attached to this last feature. It is not too much to say that Knudtzon, Tallqvist, and King have doubled the value of their monographs by the elaborate introductions which they have furnished.

It stands to reason that if a scholar devotes himself specially to some division of the great religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians, he is (or ought to be) in a better position than any one else to understand the bearings, the import, and the character of the section that he has worked up. To content himself in such a case with a mere publication or with only a publication and translation is manifestly an injustice both to the public and to himself. If we are to make any real advance in our interpretation of the Babylono-Assyrian culture, each one must contribute his share A piece of work once done ought to be so done as to make it unnecessary to do it again. If every student is compelled to do the work of all other students over again, Assyriology is doomed to a progress marked by proceeding in a circle. We have had so much of "half-way" publications, of incomplete investigations in the domain of Assyriology, that there is some justification for the recent utterance of Oppert, who went so far as to declare that Assyriologists have not advanced our knowledge beyond the point reached twenty years ago. It is a special pleasure under these circumstances to welcome a work like King's. He has given his labors such a form as to render the study of the tablets published by him palatable and profitable to all Semitic scholars—not merely the cuneiform specialist—and indeed to all interested in the history of ancient religions.

The group of tablets chosen by Mr. King possess some points of unique interest. In the first place, the catch-word of the group "lifting up of the hand" is a most significant term. As King very clearly shows, it can have no other meaning than that of prayer or supplication. It takes its origin from the attitude of the worshiper when approaching the deity, but we may press the point involved in the use of the one "hand" a little further than Mr. King does. In the famous Abu-Habba tablet (V Rawlinson, 60), we have a representation of a worshiper being led into the presence of a deity—the sun-god. The right hand is raised, the other is held by the priest who acts as mediator between the god and the worshiper. Behind the worshiper is a female figure with both hands uplifted, but this, as Dr. Ward has shown,* is a goddess, not a human being. The raising of the two hands is probably a mark of honor paid

* *E. g.*, *Seal Cylinders, etc., of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 14 and 18. The consort of the sun-god, even when standing at the side of the latter, has her hands raised before her.

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by a female deity to her consort. The Abu-Habba tablet furnishes an explanation, also, for the use of the one hand only on the part of the worshiper. The latter—even though he be a king—cannot approach the deity directly. He needs the services of a priest who alone has direct admission into the presence of the deity. The worshiper must be brought to the god by the priest and it would appear that to take hold of the priest's hand symbolizing the mediation was a custom which at one time was *de rigeur* in the Babylonian cult. The custom may not have been strictly observed in later days,* but the phrase survived, and on pictorial representations, at least, the human worshiper never extends both hands to the deity. The use of the hand is also a point of importance. The god, whether sitting or standing, towers over the worshiper. The latter, seeking communion with his god, expresses his aspiration by the symbolical raising of the hand. It is interesting to note traces of the same custom among the Hebrews. Abraham, when formally declining to take his share of the booty taken in a *razzia*, lifts up his "hand towards the lord Yahwe" by way of emphasizing his intention; and so in a number of other passages the phrase occurs in connection with religious observances.† Later, among the Hebrews both hands were spread out in prayer (*e. g.*, Isa. 65:2)—as perhaps also among the Babylonians. Parallels may also be found among other nations and, no doubt, the various symbolism connected with the hand—the raising of it to bless, or in the oath, the clasping of the hand as a sign of agreement, the laying of the head on some one as a symbol of the transfer of powers and privileges—has, as its starting point, the desire for communion with a higher power, as exemplified by the Babylonian custom.

Coming now to the prayers themselves, an interesting point connected with the group published by King is the manner in which they illustrate the transition among the Babylonians from mere incantations to actual supplications, embodying religious conceptions of a comparatively advanced type. The conservatism attaching to all religious cults of antiquity prevented the Babylonians from ever setting wholly aside the most ancient method of freeing oneself of any evil, whether actual or portending, which consisted in the recitation of formulas endowed with magic power. Remarkable as some of the religious ideas are that we meet with among the Babylonians and which passed from the Babylonians to the Assyrians, no prayer to the gods was considered efficacious without the introduction of some of the old formulas. The sign which was used as a determinative for "incantation" is attached to the prayers, and some of the most sublime invocations of the gods end in phrases that clearly belong to an entirely different level of thought. King's publication brings out clearly this phase of the religious life of the Babylonians. He furnishes prayers to Sin, Ea Damkina Ninib, Ištar, Šamaš Marduk, Nabu, Bel Nergal, Nabu, Bau, Tashmitum, and others. In all, we note

* Sargon, *e. g.*, uses ḳa-ti-ia aš-ši (Annals, 43) and ḳa-a-ti aš-ši (*ibid.* 77) interchangeably.

† The phrase is also applied metaphorically to Yahwe himself (Ex. 14:30) to convey the sense of a solemn promise made by the Almighty.

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the same phenomenon. Some of the invocations to these gods are superb, but right in the midst of them, we are surprised by utterances that carry us back to the superstitious beliefs of people to whom words as such entirely independent of their meaning, are clothed with power. In accord with this curious mixture of what might be called the old and the new, we find another striking feature in these texts, in the directions they contain for the performance of certain symbolical acts in order to further ensure the efficacy of the appeal.

The invocation or incantation by itself is insufficient. In fact, one gains the impression that at times the appeal to the gods was regarded as subsidiary to the rites to be performed on the occasion of these appeals. The address to the god or gods is introductory, while the incantation is merely the accompaniment to the symbolical rites. These rites were of various kinds. Either certain objects were presented to the god, such as honey, butter, corn, grain, meat, precious metals, ornaments or trinkets, or the suppliant presents oil with which he is anointed, incense which is to be burned in his presence, or some purely symbolical act is performed as the loosening of knots, the burning of an image or the presentation of some plant or herb possessing real or mystic medicinal power. The notion of a real sacrifice, while not absent from these rites, is not the prominent trait. The character of these sacrifices shows that though the priests derived some benefit from them, they are introduced rather from a belief that something had to be *done* by the suppliant. It would take us too long—nor is this the place—to discuss in detail the meaning of these various rites. Suffice it to say, that some of them are satisfactorily explained by Mr. King, while for others his comments pave the way for further studies in this field.

In order to properly appreciate the section of the religious literature to which the prayers published by Mr. King belong, we must bear in mind another no less important feature to which he calls attention. The prayers have passed through a process of editing. At times independent prayers have been combined together to form a group. In others, the occasions on which they are to be recited have been indicated, and the manner in which the ceremonial directions are introduced stamps the prayers as forming part of a ritual prepared for the service of the priests. The worshiper was entirely in the hands of the priest. It was the latter who led him into the presence of the deity, who told him what to do and what to say. It would appear that the invocation to the gods fell in many cases entirely to the priest; in others, where the suppliant makes the appeal, it is the priest who prescribes the words to be uttered and who legitimizes the appeal by adding his endorsement. The ceremonies connected with the prayer were performed by the priest. It was the latter who presented the offering on behalf of the suppliant, who waved the censer, who anointed the worshiper, who burned the image and who loosened the cords.

It is clear then that such a group of prayers as Mr. King has published were put together by some priest or rather body of priests to serve

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as a guide or standard in the performance of the duties devolving upon them. Mr. King suggests that separate rituals may have existed for the different classes of the population, rituals in which certain patron deities of these various classes were the ones to be implored. We venture to think, however, that the supreme power wielded by the priests of Babylonia and Assyria rendered such an independent and in a measure individual development of religious thought highly improbable if not impossible. In private contracts and in affairs connected with family or communal life, the old local gods continued to enjoy a certain amount of prestige at all times, but in the official cult only the great gods in whose service stood a large and powerful body of priests were the ones to receive recognition through the standard rituals of the country. Mr. King's group of tablets furnishes us with one of these standard rituals. For the private cult, for the popular religious customs—customs that to the priests must have frequently appeared in the light of superstitions—we must turn to the so-called contract tablets, that illustrate the daily life and thoughts of the people; and even here what light they throw upon religious conditions is indirect rather than direct. It is to be remembered that those who acted as the scribes were again the priests, whose influence thus permeates all phases of life in ancient Babylonia and Assyria.

Thanks to Mr. King, a great many points connected with the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians are made much clearer than they were before and no small number of new points are brought out by his investigations. In conclusion we would especially commend his translations as being at once accurate and cautious. He does not hesitate frequently to confess his ignorance of certain passages. This frankness increases the confidence in the many difficult passages that he *does* translate. Naturally there are some in which there is room for differences of opinion and there are a number of passages of which Mr. King has failed to catch the full force. No doubt, too, as he continues his studies, he will reach a better understanding of many passages at present unintelligible to him.

To pick out these passages and discuss them would extend this notice beyond reasonable proportions. A few examples will suffice.

No. 27, l. 14 is to be translated, "They (*i. e.*, the hostile deities) give (me) answer to a command, by disobedience." That is to say, when they are commanded by me, they reply with disobedience.

No. 1, 2, a better translation would be, "who alone givest light," and l. 4, "who guideth aright the black-headed race."

No. 1, 41, the second ideograph is clearly synonymous in meaning with the first term—saḫâru. In Brünnow, No. 10,752, the sign in question equals saḫâru, "turn towards." Since, according to IV R. 5, 28 *b* (Brünnow, No. 10,754), the double ideograph as well as the single one is the equivalent of I. 2 and I. 3 of the stem שאה, a reading like aštê'-ka (or perhaps ašteni'â-ka), "I seek thee," is to be preferred. Certainly King's translation, "I have established thee," is unwarranted and misses the point.

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No. 27, 8, translate "With Sin in the heavens thou seekest out all things, *i. e.*, thou seest everything."

Occasionally, too, one should have liked to have seen more explicit discussions of the contents of the prayers. Mr. King was evidently prompted by the commendable desire not to extend his book beyond undue proportions, but one may err on the side of self-restraint.

Taken as a whole, Mr. King's work is one of the very best contributions that has as yet been made to the religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Scholars owe him thanks for the manner in which he has performed his task. His book is indispensable to those who would penetrate into the spirit of the Babylonian religion and we earnestly hope that he will continue his useful labors. Enjoying the advantage of permanent residence among the treasures of the British Museum, he is in a peculiarly favorable position for publishing texts. Thanks to him and those mentioned at the beginning of this review, we now have a clear insight into certain phases of Babylonian magic. The incantation texts and prayers are now pretty thoroughly worked up, but a great task (among others) that still remains is a systematic publication of the omen texts of the British Museum collection. Of this division of the Babylonian literature we as yet know little, nor can we gain a clear insight until the mass of tablets and fragments containing omens shall have been examined, classified and published. No doubt series and groups exist here as in other divisions of the literature. By a careful study of such a series or a group, many of the difficulties experienced in translating the few promiscuous texts hitherto published will no doubt be removed. The task is certain of bringing with it great rewards and we know of no one better qualified in every way to undertake it than the able assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum.

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SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO HEBREW ONOMATOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR EBERHARD NESTLE, PH.D., D.D.,

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When Siegfried and Stade published, in 1892, the first part of their *Hebrew Dictionary of the Old Testament*, they sent it out with this motto on its cover: "Est etiam nesciendi quaedam ars. Gottfr. Hermann." I suppose they took it from Fleischer, who thus recommended this art in Levy's *Neuhebräischem Wörterbuch*, IV., 229. On the title-page of their complete work (1893) they gave it in its original wording: "Est quaedam etiam nesciendi ars et scientia." We cannot deny that they followed this principle especially with regard to the proper names of the Old Testament: they have refrained from mentioning any former explanations of the Hebrew proper names, nor did they themselves make any attempt to give new explanations of names hitherto unexplained.

They were followed in this art and science by the new editor of the Gesenius' *Lexicon*, Professor Frantz Buhl (12th edition, Leipzig, 1895), who likewise deleted all translations of proper names which were to be found in the former editions of this work.

I must confess that it is a great comfort to me, that the American and English scholars who are at present engaged in recasting the English Gesenius, viz.: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, keep to the old course and give, wherever it seems possible, an explanation of the proper names contained in the Old Testament.

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I may be permitted to give in the following lines some contributions to this department of Hebrew lexicography, which seems to me, as it is the oldest, to be also one of the most interesting.

1. The first name explained in the Old Testament is that of Eve, חַוָּה, while that of Adam needed no explanation for Hebrew ears; it reminded them at once of אֲדָמָה *soil*, Gen. 2:7; 3:16. So much more were later generations interested in the explanation of the latter. It is sufficient to refer to the Onomastica sacra as published by de Lagarde: *homo* sive *terrenus* aut *indigena* vel *terra rubra;* μαρτυρία ἢ γηγενὴς ἢ ἄνθρωπος ἢ χοῦς ἢ αἷμα ἢ γῆ σαρκουμένη ἢ [γῆ] ἐρυθρά + ὁμοίωσις + γῆ ἐρχομένη [= ?] + γῆ παρθένος + γῆ αἱματώδης. Josephus gave πυρρός· ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς. φυραθείσης ἐγεγόνει· τοιαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ καὶ ἀληθινή. (On virgin-soil compare the passage of Plinius, quoted by Vallarsi and de Lagarde, 185–6.) Rabbinical acuteness found in its three letters an indication of the three names of Adam, David, and Messiah, as the beginning, middle, and end of the history of Salvation; Greek Jews and Christians in the four letters of its Greek form Ἀδαμ the four quarters of the world:

Ἀνατολίην τε Δύσιν τε Μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ Ἄρκτον

(*Orac. Sibyll.*, III., 26, Augustin, tract 9:10 in Joh.). The numerical value of its four letters (1+4+1+40) was considered as containing a type of Christ as the second temple (John 2:20; Primasius, ed. Migne, 68, 885) or of the 46 days from Wednesday after Quinquagesima to the holy Sabbath (Amalarius). Even in Mohammedan theology the name played a rôle. "Cur Adam dictus Adam?" was one of the questions put by Abdia ben Salom to Mohammed; and because Mohammed answered it like his other questions to his satisfaction, Abdia recognized him as prophet and became a Moslem. According to *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata Hermanno Nellingaunense interprete* (1543) his answer was: "Quia creatus de limo terrarum omnium. non unius. si enim de uno creatus esset, nulla esset inter homines noticiae creatio" [= creationis notitia?]. With this compare Herder in his *Geist der hebräischen Poesie* (ed. Suphan, 438): "Erdenmann heisst er, das ist seine Geschichte," and every reader will have sufficient examples of how much wisdom and folly can be connected with a single name. That a new-born child deplores the first parents, crying *A* (Adam) if a boy, *E* (Eve) if a girl, is

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a pun, which goes through the whole of the Middle Ages, from Andreas, Archbishop of Lund (†1228), to the greatest of the medieval Popes, Innocent III. in his "*de miseria humanae conditionis*," down to one of the best German prose writers of the 15th century, Albrecht von Eyb (ob einem Manne sei zu nehmen ein eelich Weib oder nit), or to the first encyclopedia of the renaissance, Gregor Reisch's *margarita philosophica*.[1] But this only by way of introduction to the name of Adam's wife, Eve, חַוָּה.

2. B[rown]-D[river]-B[riggs] distinguish three roots, חוה.

> I. Phenician חוא = Hebrew חיה *live*.
> II. = Arabic حَوَى *collect, gather*.
> III. = Aramaic ܚܰܘܺܝ, only in Piel, *tell, declare*.

Under the first root, which alone concerns us here, they give only

> חַוָּה n. pr. f., Gen. 3:20; 4:1—here one of the rare misprints in their work, חָי instead of חַי—; and
> יחואל n. pr. m., 2 Chron. 29:14 Kt.; Qr. יְחִיאֵל, q. v. sub חיה.

If we follow this reference we find יְחִיאֵל explained *may El live*, under comparison of Phenician יחואלן, יחומלך. B–D–B do not touch the question how to vocalize the Ketib יחואל; S[iegfried]-S[tade] and G[esenius]-B[uhl] print יְחַוְאֵל, without a warning —beside the addition of "Kt."—that this vocalization does not rest on tradition. If we compare similar names as ירואל beside יְרִיאֵל, פְּנִיאֵל—פְּנוּאֵל, especially מְחוּיָאֵל beside מְחִיָּיאֵל, it seems more likely that the Massorites would have vocalized יְחוּאֵל (*cf.* Eccl. 11:3 יְהוּא); I have, however, no doubt that יְחַוְאֵל gives the original meaning of the name: *God gives life*, and leads us to explain יְחִיאֵל in a similar way, as (Piel or as) Hifil, not as Qal. There seems to be no example in the Old Testament to show how the jussive Hifil of היה and חיה would sound; after the analogy of יְרָא and יַעַל, which are at the same time Qal and Hifil, it seems to me that יְחִי may stand for Hifil as well as for

[1] On Andreas, Sunonis filius, *cf.* the edition of his *Hexaemeron* by Cl. Gertz, Hauniae, 1892, and the review of it by Hauréau (*Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 125). The old school-verse was:

> Omnis masculus *a!* nascens, *e!* femina profert,
> Et dicunt *e!* vel *a!* quotquot nascuntur ab Eva,
> *A!* dat *A*dam genitor, *e!* dedit *E*va parens.

With Andreas it has the following form:

> Post culpam dicta fuit Eva, quod *e* vel *a* voce
> Promant lugubri quotquot nascuntur ab Eva.
> *E!* quaevis mulier, et *a!* quivis masculus istam
> Ingrediens lucem flendo proclamat . . . .

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Qal. מחויאל and מחייאל are, then, the participles of the same roots and B–D–B ought to have placed these two names on p. 295 *b* and 313 *b*. Now they will make their appearance, no doubt, under the root מחה = *wiped out by God* or *smitten by God*, which is nonsense as the name of a child. If then, in Gen. 5, we find the root חוה = חיה *live*, I see no reason why we should not find the same root in the name of Eve. Wellhausen and Nöldeke thought of Arabic حَيَّة *serpent;* Robertson Smith explained: mother of every ḥayy = tribe. Samachšari quotes (*Mufaṣṣal*, p. 6, 1) حَيْوَة as a name of irregular formation; Barhebraeus (*Grammaire*, I., 6) took it as imperative from ܚܘܐ *to tell;* for Renan it had an Aramaic ring; as it stands, it may be either the feminine of a noun or adjective, corresponding to Hebrew חי, or 3d fem. perf. = *she lives*, or finally 3d. masc. perf. Piel (= Hebr. חִוָּה, חִיָּה) *he, i. e.*, God *has given life*.

3. In the same list of names, Gen. 5, in which we have מחויאל and מחייאל we find the name מַהֲלַלְאֵל. The vocalization is rather strange and has its analogy only Prov. 27:21 מַהֲלָלוֹ. I don't see why in this place we do not vocalize מְהַלְלוֹ (Part. Piel: *the man according to the mouth of him that praises him*). If we find the name יְהַלֶּלְאֵל, we will be inclined to see in מהללאל the corresponding participle, just as above in מחויאל and מחייאל on the side of יחואל and יחיאל. On the other hand it is much more likely that, in names of the form יהללאל, the second member be subject, not object, as the present vocalization presupposes: "praised be God," not "he shall praise God"; but then we expect the passive, not the active; thus the question of the true vocalization of this name must remain open.

4. It is a very probable assumption that the names of the Sethites and Kainites were originally identical; יֶרֶד in the one list corresponds to עִירָד in the other. De Lagarde declared Γαιδαδ, in which form the latter name in the Septuagint appears, for the most original, for reasons which Budde (*Urgeschichte*, p. 124) did not understand (de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I., 146). I do not wish to express any opinion on the meaning of the name, but it seems to me that its twofold form is of the greatest importance for the explanation of the name of Jerusalem. According to the Tel-Amarna tablets we can scarcely doubt that "Urusalim" or "Ursalimmu," *i.e.*, עיר שׁלם *the town* (*of*) *Salem*, is the original form of the name. Hitherto we have had no certain example

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that on Hebrew soil ע might be dropped at the beginning of a word, although we have sufficient cases of its disappearance in the middle of words (*cf.* בל, רות, בכה = בעל, רעות, בעכה, etc.). Therefore it would be very important if יֶרֶד and עִירָד were really identical. To me it seems so. For their vocalization I should compare כֶּבֶד and כְּבֵד.

5. A name, the explanation of which seems decidedly wrong in B–D–B, is בַּרְזִלַּי. B–D–B give it (p. 137) after בַּרְזֶל as "man of iron." We have three men of this name in the Old Testament: 1) a Gileadite, 2 Sam. 17:27, after whom 2) a priest in the time of Ezra is named (Ezr. 2:61; Neh. 7:63); 3) a Meholathite, 2 Sam. 21:8. Now one of the chief characteristics of the Semitic languages, we are told, is that they do not like to form adjectives from nouns denoting material, metals (compare a similar difference in this direction between English and German); therefore the explanation "man of iron" is quite improbable. On the other hand, in Gilead according to the tradition of Genesis, Aramaeans and Jews, Laban and Jacob as their representatives, met together; it is therefore *a priori* probable that בר is Aramaic = son, and זלי a proper name of a person, place, or God. I cannot give an exact example for זִלַּי, but it may be remarked that the root זלל, which is very rare in Hebrew, is rather frequent in Aramaic, denoting luxurious in bono et malo sensu.

6. The supposition of an Aramaic origin of this name is fully confirmed by the fact that the first Barzillai has a son named כִּמְהָם. כמה is again a root scarcely once occurring in Hebrew (Ps. 63:2), but rather common in Syriac, denoting especially weakness of sight; and the other Barzillai, of Mehola, has a son called עַדְרִיאֵל, who married one of the daughters of Saul. Adriel has been hitherto explained from Hebrew "herd of God"; it is of course nothing but the Aramaic form of the Hebrew עַזְרִיאֵל *my help is God* or *help of God;* and we gain thus the fact, most important for the ethnology of Palestine, that in the times of Saul Aramaeans were settled not only in Gilead, but also at Mehola.

7. It would be of still greater importance, if Egyptian names could be traced with certainty among the Israelites; and especially among their priests.

Now that פִּינְחָס (Phinehas), the grandson of Aaron and the son of Eli, does not mean (from Hebrew) "the mouth of brass"

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or "the mouth of the serpent," but is Egyptian = *the Negro*, has been proposed by Lauth a quarter of a century ago (*ZDMG*., XXV., 1871, p. 139; see my *Israelitische Eigennamen*, p. 112). Neither S–St nor G–B mention this explanation.

In the book just mentioned I referred to another member of the same family, פּוּטִיאֵל, Ex. 6:25. The first part of this name seems to me quite identical with that which we have in פּוֹטִיפַר, פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, the Egyptian origin of which is undoubted.

In חוּר, who is named with Aaron as companion with Moses, we may seek the Egyptian Horus.

The brother of the second Phinehas is חָפְנִי *Hofni*. The first part of his name reminds us at once of Pharaoh Hophra חָפְרַע and of the Septuagint in Jer. 46:15, which translates נִסְחַף = εφυγεν ο Απις = נָס חָף, a translation which G–B again does not think worth mentioning. But I must leave to Egyptologists to state whether or not the second part of חפני (-ni, -ani, -eni, etc.) might be Egyptian.

אַסִּיר, which Euting, de Lagarde, Duhm explain of Osiris, Isa. 10:9, is likewise a name (Ex. 6:24) for a son of Korah.

פּוּעָה Ex. 1:15, concerning which I had asked (*loc. cit.*, p. 112), whether it might not be Egyptian, has since been explained from Hebrew by de Lagarde.

פַּרְנָךְ, Num. 34:25, reminds us of Pharnaces, but on the other hand also of Pharaoh.

It seems to me highly desirable that an Egyptologist should spend a few hours in examining the names of persons in Exodus and Numbers. But I must return to the Aramaean son-in-law of Saul, Adriel.

8. There is an uncertainty in the biblical statements which of the daughters of Saul this Adriel married, Merab or Michal. What is the meaning of their names? I see in Merab מֵרַב an abbreviation of a name found in the same family, *viz.*: מְרִיב בַּעַל, *i. e.*, "Baal fights." I know that the latter name is also written מריבעל and it is very tempting to consider this form as the original and to explain it in accordance with Iš-bošeth, Imru-l-qais (אשבעל, איש בשת) as "man of Baal." Even the name יְרֻבַּעַל, which everywhere is written by the Massorites with double ב, might be taken as ירובעל after the analogy of יְרוּאֵל. But if we compare יָרֵב and יָרָבְעָם, I do not see why we should not derive all these names from the same root, ריב, רוב, explaining ירבעל

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not as "warrior for Baal," still less "against Baal"—the former explanation with G–B!—but "Baal fights," מריבבעל as participle, "Baal is fighting," Merab a disfigured abbreviation. (Note how often in the Psalms the cry is heard that God may ריב the cause of his worshiper.) It is a rule with Semites that members of the same family bear similar names; the best known example of this is Hassan, Hossain, Muhassin (*cf.* Goldziher, *ZDMG.*, L., 1896, 119, Šabbar, Šubbair, Mušabbir as names of the sons of Aaron); therefore the ב of Merab seems to me to testify for the ב of בריבבעל and then also for that of ירבעל. Again it seems that female names are sometimes abbreviations of male names. In this way, at least, I explain the name שָׂרָה and שָׂרַי (Sara) as perfect of the same root, the imperfect of which we have in יִשְׂרָאֵל; the latter name meaning "God will fight," the former "He has fought." The verbs ל״י pass into verbs ל״ה; thus שׂרי was changed into שׂרה. Even the Septuagint still testifies that the termination of שׂרי is quite different from that in בַּרְזִלַּי, שַׁדַּי, יִשַׁי, etc.; for it does not transliterate it by -αι, but like that of Arabic סִינַי by -α, Σαρ(ρ)α, Σινα. We ought to follow this example, writing and pronouncing *Sina*, *Sara*.

9. But where does Michal מִיכַל, the name of Merab's sister, come from? B–D–B do not mention it (p. 408) under the root יכל, though the female name יְכָלְיָה(וּ) may tempt us to see in it an example similar to those hitherto adduced; they will mention it, I suppose, with the appellative מִיכַל. Olshausen saw in it a mutilated form of מִיכָאֵל *who is like God;* but it is not very probable that for a girl such a name was chosen among Semites, and it is very curious to note that the Septuagint renders it Μελχολ. Some scholars have therefore considered the י as a graphic deformation of ל; but it is just as probable a phonetic change. Especially in Aramaic we find liquidae disappearing or rather changing into ı. Hebrew *Gilgal* has its Aramaic equivalent in *giglā*, שלשלת = Aramaic šîšlā, צלצל = Aramaic ṣîṣlā; ζιζανιον is certainly = *זנזן; *cf.* further ܓܡܝܙܐ, ܫܡܫܐ, etc. I should place מיכל under the root מלך, leaving the origin of the last letter in suspense.

10. One word, finally, on the spelling of יששכר *Issachar*. It is now generally recognized that the Massorites wish us to read יִשָּׂכָר *Issachar* by a qere perpetuum; see Baer, *Genesis*, p. 84. But how to explain the Ketib, יששכר? Wellhausen (*Samuel*,

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pp. v and 95) took it = אִישׁ שָׂכָר. I am inclined to explain it in the same (or at least in a similar) way, which Wellhausen (Bleek, 6th edit., p. 584 *sq.*) applied to spellings like עמשסי, נפישסים, בושסכם. In the preface to *Job* Baer (p. v) called attention to the fact that in a certain MS. "quod adhuc inauditum, שׁ superne appicto pusillo ש, שׂ appicto pusillo ס insignitur." Instead of *above* the letter, the ס in the adduced examples came to stand *beside* the ש. Quite in the same way I explain the second ש of יששכר: it was to denote that the sibilant was שׁ and not שׂ. But despite this second ש the Massorites will be right in finding in the word the root שׂכר; we must but remember that Issachar is a name of one of the northern tribes, where the pronunciation of שׂ and שׁ was different from that of the south. How Saadja transcribed the name can be seen with Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV.*, XV., 27; Beidhawi, I., 85, 25, has يَشْسُوخُور, where ـُو = ָ = â, and ش and س = שׂ and שׁ (*cf.* Lagarde's theory). The Massoretic vocalization considers the name as formed from the imperfect Nifal. S–St, to be faithful to their ars nesciendi, do not mention that similar names have since been found, as ישכראל, see H. D. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler*, p. 48; G–B, *sub* שָׂכָר, refer at least to Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III., 3, where the latter quotes Arabic Shakr. On the correspondence between שׁ, שׂ, ס; ش, س, ث; ܫ, ܣ, ܠ I must not enlarge here. I may be permitted to close with stating it as my firm belief that the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, if it will promote further investigation of Semitic proper names, will do one of the greatest possible services to the studies for which it is founded.[1]

[1] Some minor additions to the letter ב in the Lexicon of B–D–B may here be added:

Page 91 *b.* בְּאֵר לַחַי: a reference to לחי is desirable; names of places compounded with לחי, γναθος are to be found in Arabia and Greece as well as in Palestine, Ονου γναθος, etc.

Page 92 *a.* בְּאֵרִי *my well*, or better, *the man from Beer.*

Page 94 *a.* בִּגְוַי perhaps = Pers. Βαγαιος, Βαγωας, but *cf.* Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, p. 413.

Page 103. בָּזָק, for which no explanation is given, means "gravel"; *cf.* the modern Ramle = "sand."

Page 112. בֵּית לְעַפְרָה reminds me of the בֵּית עַשְׁתָּרוֹת 1 Sam. 31:11; *cf.* Aštoret and Αφροδιτη, de Lagarde's combination of عفر and عثر.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.[1]

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III. MORPHOLOGY.[2]

Pa''ēl.—*Perfect.*—§273. The vowel of the first syllable is generally *ă*, before gutturals mostly *ĭ* or *ē* (§68). The vowel of the second syllable tends to stay in all the forms.

Pa''ēl.

Perfect—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קַטֵּל	קַטֵּיל , (טִי)	קַטּוֹל
3d fem. . . .	קַטְּלָא	קַטֵּילָא , ־ַת	——
2d com. . . .	קַטֵּלְתְּ	קַטֵּילְתְּ	——
1st " . . .	קַטֵּלִי[ת]	קַטֵּילִי[ת]	קַטּוֹלִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc.	קַטֵּלוּ	קַטִּילוּ	—
		קַטּוּל	
2d masc. . .	קַטֵּלְתּוּ[ן], ־ִיתוּ[ן]	קַטֵּילְתּוּ[ן], ־ִיתוּ[ן]	—
1st com. . .	קַטֵּלְנָא	קַטֵּילְנָא , ־לִינַן	—
	קַטֵּלִינַן , ־נַן	קַטְלַן , ־לִינַן	—
Imperfect—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקַטֵּל , לְקַ'	לִיקַטֵּיל , לְקַ'	לִיקַטּוֹל, לְקַ'
3d fem. . . .	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּיל	תְּקַטּוֹל
2d masc. . .	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּיל	——
1st com. . .	אֵיקַטֵּל , אֲ'	אֵיקַטֵּיל , אֲ'	אֵיקַטּוֹל
3d masc. . .		לִיקַטְלוּ[ן], לְקַ'	
3d fem. . . .		לִיקַטְלָן , לְקַ'	
2d masc. . .		תְּקַטְלוּ[ן]	
1st com. . .	נְקַטֵּל	נְקַטֵּיל , נִיקַ'	נְקַטּוֹל

[1] See AJSL., Vol. XIII., No. 1, pp. 21–78; No. 2, pp. 118–139.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 118.

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Pa''ēl.—Continued.

IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קַטֵּל	קַטֵּיל	קַטּוֹל
2d fem. . . .	——	קַטֵּילִי	——
Plur. 2d masc. . .	——	קַטֵּילוּ, (טְ)	——
INFINITIVE.		קַטּוֹלֵי	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מְקַטֵּל	מְקַטֵּיל	(מְקַטּוֹל)
fem. .		מְקַטְּלָא	
Passive, sg. masc.		מְקַטַּל	
fem. .		מְקַטְּלָא	

EXAMPLES FOR PA''ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§274. *a*) [B קַטִּל, קַטֵּל; T קַטֵּיל; M קאטיל; S ܩܛܠ].—קַבֵּיל Ned. 49 *b*; זַבֵּין B. M. 65 *a*; שַׁלֵּים *he finished*, Sabb. 118 *b*; סַלֵּית *he scraped*, *ibid*. 74 *b*; פַּלֵּים *he tore, broke*, B. Q. 19 *b*; סָרֵיךְ *he climbed up*, *ibid*. 20 *a*; בָּרֵיךְ *he said grace*, Ber. 53 *b*; יַיבֵּם Yeb. 18 *b*.[1]

b) [M קאטאל; S ܩܛܠ].—שַׁדַּר *he sent*, Ned. 49 *b*, Ber. 58 *a*; שַׁקַּר *he told a lie*, Sanh. 98 *a*; סַלַּק *he removed*, Ber. 42 *a*; שַׁאוּור *he jumped*, M. MS., B. M. 84 *a*; צַיַּעַר (or צַיַּער) *he vexed*, Qidd. 70 *b* (§8); מְיַעַט B. Q. 51 *b*; נְיַהַם *roared*, Ḥull. 59 *b*; עֵירַב ʽEr. 75 *b*; פֵּירַשׁ *he separated*, Sôtā 4 *b*; אֵירַע *it happened*, Sabb. 87 *b* (M. MS. עֵירַע).

c) תַּקּוֹן ed. Ven. Ber. 22 *b*.

d) By analogy with ל״י: הַדְּרִי *he turned around*, V. L., A. Z. 38 *b*; שַׁקְּרַאי *he lied*, Yeb. 55 *a*.[2]

3d sing. fem.—§275. *a*) [T קַטֵּילַת; Pal. Talm. קטלת, קטלה; M קאטלאת; S ܩܛܠܬ].—בַּשֵּׁילָה *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b*; קַבֵּילָא *ibid.*; צַבֵּיתָה *she prepared*, Nidd. 37 *a*.[3]

b) שַׁדְּרָא *she sent*, Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a* (voc.).

2d sing. com.—§276. *a*) [T קַטֵּילְתְּ(א); M קאטילת; S ܩܛܠܬ].—קַבֵּילְתְּ Sanh. 102 *b*; קַבֵּלְתְּ *acceptest*, Pes. 86 *b*.

b) שַׁדַּרְתְּ Qidd. 72 *b*; זַמַּנְתָּא *thou didst invite*, F. MS., Sanh. 109 *b*.

[1] פָּארֵישׁ *Igg. Šerīrā*, p. 26; זַבֵּין *she sold*, *HG.*, ed. pr. 73 *d*; קָבִיל *SM.*, No. XXIII. (voc.).

[2] This word is usually taken to be a noun.—שִׁקְּרִי *he lied*, *SM.*, No. LIII.

[3] In later literature: שַׁלֵּימַת *she completed*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §74.

1st sing. com.—§277. *a*) [B קְטַלֶת; T קַטֵּילִית; Pal. Talm. קטלית; M קאטלית; S ܩܛܠܶܬ].—קַבֵּילִית B. Q. 70 *a;* שַׁמֵּיתִי *I put under ban, ibid.* 17 *a;* קָרֵיבִית *I brought near,* Sabb. 89 *b;* חַנֵּיפִי *I flattered,* M. Q. 17 *a;* בָּרֵיכִי *I said grace,* Ber. 49 *a.*

b) [T קַטְלִית].—שַׁדְּרִי *I sent,* Meg. 7 *b* ('En Y. שַׁדְּרִית); בַּצַּרִי *I gave for less,* B. M. 103 *b;* נַבַּחִי *I made a noise,* Ber. 57 *b.*[1]

c) (כַּנּוֹפִיכוּ *I have gathered you,* B. Q. 113 *b*).[2]

3d plur. masc.—§278. *a*) [B קַטְלוּ; T קַטִּילוּ; Pal. Talm. קטלון; M קאטילון; S ܩܛܠܘ, ܩܛܠܘܢ].—קַבִּילוּ Gitt. 70 *b;* סַלִּיקוּ *they removed,* Ber. 42 *a;* קָרִיבוּ *they brought near,* Qidd. 81 *a;* שַׁמִּיתוּ *they put under ban,* M. Q. 16 *a;* תַּקִּינוּ *they instituted,* Ned. 10 *a,* Gitt. 49 *b;* תַּקִּינִי B. B. 172 *b.*

b) [T קַטְּלוּ; S ܩܛܠܘ, ܩܛܠܘܢ].—שַׁדְּרוּ *they sent,* Ber. 42 *a;* שַׁבַּחוּ *they praised,* Gitt. 56 *a;* בַּצַּרוּ *they diminished,* Taan. 24 *b;* שַׁדְּרִי *ibid.* 23 *b;* צַעֲרִי *they vexed,* Keth. 61 *b.*[3]

c) תַּקּוּן M. Q. 3 *b,* Pes. 30 *b;* תִּיקּוּן Pes. 116 *b,* Yeb. 31 *b;* שַׁדּוּר C. MS., Meg. 7 *a* (voc.); עַקּוּר *they removed,* Ḥull. 59 *b;* סָרוּךְ *they clung to,* Bêçā 11 *a.*

2d plur. masc.—§279. *a*) [T קַטֵּילְתּוּן; M קאטילתון; S ܩܛܠܬܘܢ].—קַבֵּילְתּוּ Sanh. 101 *b,* Gitt. 70 *b;* זַבֵּינְתּוּ *you sold,* A. Z. 71 *a:* הַפִּכִיתוּ *turn ye,* M. MS., Pes. 40 *a.*[4]

b) פַּטַּרְתּוּן Ber. 54 *b;* פַּטַּרִיתוּ M. MS., *ibid.;* סַכַּנְתּוּן *ye would have endangered,* Ber. 25 *a.*

1st plur. com.—§280. *a*) [T קַטֵּילְנָא; M קאטילנין; S ܩܛܠܢ, ܩܛܠܢܢ].—קַבֵּילְנָא *we took upon,* Taan. 23 *a;* בָּרֵיכְנָא *we (I) said grace,* Ber. 58 *b,* eds.; בָּרֵיכִינַן *ibid.;* תַּקְּנַן *we instituted,* Succ. 4 *b;* בַּשֵּׁלִינַן *we cooked,* B. B. 73 *b;* בָּרֵיכוּן *(I) we pronounced a benediction,* M. MS., Ber. 58 *b.*[5]

b) פַּטַּרְנָא *we freed,* Qidd. 52 *b;* נַקִּרִינָא *we cleaned,* B. B. 74 *b.*

IMPERFECT.—§281. In the imperfect the vowel of the first stem-consonant is, with a few exceptions, always *ă.* In the 2d and the 3d person plural the second stem-vowel is invariably omitted.

[1] שַׁדְּרִית, שַׁבְּקִית, פַּטְּרִית, *HG.* ed. pr. 47 *c.* [2] תָּרוֹכִית, *HG.* 47 *c.*

[3] שַׁדִּירוּ *they sent, SM.,* No. LIII. (voc.).

[4] *Cf.* §§ 205, 232, *a;*—פָּרֵישְׁתּוּן, *TG.,* ed. Harkavy, § 210.

[5] פָּרֵישְׁנָא, *TR.,* II. 52; תַּקֵּינַן *ibid.* 5.

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3d sing. masc.—§282. *a*) [BT יִקְטֻ(י)ל; M ניקאטיל; S ܢܶܩܛܘܿܠ]. —לִיגָרֵישׁ *he divorces*, Ar. 23 *a;* לִינַגֵּיב *dries*, Sabb. 141 *a;* נְבָרֵיךְ *says grace*, Ber. 46 *a;* נְשַׁלֵּם *pays*, B. Q. 108 *a;* נִיזַבֵּין *sells*, Qidd. 20 *a;* נְקַבֵּיל *receives*, B. B. 4 *a;* לְיַיבֵּם Yeb. 18 *b;* לִיבַשֵּׁיל Gitt. 69 *a*.

b) לִישַׁדַּר *sends*, Sabb. 140 *b*, Ber. 51 *b;* לִיגַלַּח *shaves*, *ibid.* 110 *b;* לִיזַמַּר *sings*, Sanh. 7 *a;* נֵיהַדַּר *places*, B. M. 84 *a;* לְשַׁלַּח *strips*, Sanh. 109 *b*.

c) לִיזַבּוּן *sells*, Sanh. 95 *a;* לִיבַזּוֹל *shakes*, M. MS., Sabb. 66 *b*. לְבָרוֹךְ ed. Ven. Ber. 36 *a;* לְזַבּוֹן 'En Y. 'Ar. 30 *b*, eds. לִיזַבַּן.[1]

3d sing. fem.—§283. *a*) [BT תִּקְטֻ(י)ל; M תיקאטיל; S ܬܶܩܛܘܿܠ]. —תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ B. Q. 20 *b*, Sabb. 110 *a*.

b) תְּשַׁדַּר *sends*, Ber. 18 *b;* תְּשַׁלַּח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 *a*.

c) תְּקַדּוֹשׁ Nidd. 6 *b*.

2d sing. masc.—§284. *a*) תְּקַבֵּיל B. B. 21 *a;* תְּשַׁפֵּיץ *thou repairest*, Yeb. 63 *a;* תְּזַבֵּין *sellest*, B. M. 107 *a*.

b) תְּעַקַּר *thou pullest out*, Pes. 113 *a;* תְּאַשַּׁר *thou believest*, Gitt. 30 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§285. *a*) [B אֶקְטֻל; T אֲקַטֵּיל, איקטיל; M איקאטיל; S ܐܶܩܛܘܿܠ].—אֲקַבֵּל Ber. 28 *a;* אֲקַבֵּיל Ḥag. 5 *b;* אֲבָרֵיךְ Ber. 48 *a;* אֵיבָרֵיךְ Ber. 22 *b*, M. MS.; אֵיצַבֵּית *I prepare*, Ḥull. 60 *a;* אֵיקַשֵּׁיט Qidd. 40 *a*.

b) אֵישַׁדַּר *I send*, Sanh. 98 *a;* אֵיעַקַּר *I uproot*, Ber. 54 *b*.

c) אֵיזַבּוֹן *I sell*, B. M. 108 *a*.[2]

3d plur. masc.—§286. [BT יִקְטְלוּן; M ניקאטלון; S ܢܶܩܛܠܘܢ]. —לִיקַבְּלוּ Gitt. 7 *a;* לִיקַדְּמוּ Meg. 4 *a;* לְצַעֲרוּ *vex*, Ber. 28 *a;* לִיבָרְכוּ *say grace*, *ibid.* 50 *a;* לִיתַקְּנֵי *they order*, Gitt. 49 *b*.[3]

3d plur. fem.—§287. [BT יִקְטְלָן; M ניקאטלא(ן); S ܢܶܩܛܠܳܢ].—לִיעַכְּבָן *they hinder*, Col. MS., Zeb. 40 *a*.

1st plur. com.—§288. *a*) [BT נִקְטֻ(י)ל; S ܢܶܩܛܘܿܠ].—נִיקַבֵּיל Ḥag. 5 *b*, Yeb. 121 *a;* נְבָרֵיךְ Pes. 103 *b;* נְתַקֵּין *we order*, Hôr. 13 *b;* נְזַמֵּן Ber. 45 *b*.

b) נְשַׁדַּר *we send*, Sanh. 109 *a*.

c) נְבָרוֹךְ Ber. 36 *a*, ed. Ven.

[1] לִיקַדּוֹם, *HG.*, ed. pr. 113 *a;* לְתָרוֹץ, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, 25.

[2] אֵיזַבּוֹן, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §9.

[3] לִימָאוֹן *let them give a* שְׁטָר מָאוּן, *HG.*, ed. pr. 110 *d*.

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IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§289. *a*) [BT קַטֵּ(י)ל; M קאטיל; S ܩܰܛܶܠ].—זַבֵּין *sell*, Ber. 62 *b;* שַׁפִּין *repair*, Yeb. 63 *a;* קַדֵּים Tam. 27 *b;* קַבֵּיל B. Q. 117 *a;* בָּרֵיךְ Ber. 54 *a;* צַבֵּית *prepare*, M. Q. 27 *b;* חַשֵּׁיב *count*, Meg. 11 *b*.

b) שַׁדַּר *send*, B. M. 4 *a;* עַשַּׂר *give tithes*, Ned. 44 *b;* אַשַּׁר *believe*, Gitt. 30 *b*.

c) קַבּוֹל Sanh. 48 *b;* זַבּוֹן B. M. 108 *a*.

Sing. fem.—§290. *a*) [T קַטֵּילִי; S ܩܰܛܶܠܝ].—בַּשֵּׁילִי *cook*, Ned. 66 *b;* שַׁלֵּימִי *pay*, B. M. 42 *b*.

Plur. masc.—§291. *a*) [BT קַטֵּ(י)לוּ; S ܘ, ܩܰܛܶܠܘ].—צַבִּיתוּ R. H. 17 *a;* זַרִּידוּ *prepare*, A. Z. 17 *a;* קַדִּימוּ *come early*, חַשִּׁיכוּ *come late*, Ber. 8 *a;* נַגִּידוּ *spread out*, Er. 94 *a;* with loss of stem-vowel: שַׁתְּקוּ Gitt. 84 *b;* זַבְּנוּ B. B. 22 *a*.

INFINITIVE.—§292. The usual form of the infinitive is קַטּוֹלֵי; the other forms occur but sporadically. The change of the first vowel to *i* is rare.

a) qattûlê:[1] שַׁמּוּתֵי Col. MS., Meg. 4 *a* (voc.);[2] שַׁקּוֹרֵי *to lie*, Sanh. 98 *a;* כַּסּוֹפֵי *ibid.* 42 *a;* שַׁבּוֹחֵי *to give praise*, Pes. 2 *a;* שַׁדּוֹרֵי *to send*, Sabb. 108 *b;* בָּרוֹכֵי *to bless*, צַעוֹרֵי *to vex*, M. Q. 9 *b;* קָרוֹבֵי Col. MS., Zeb. 86 *a;* לְחַדּוֹשֵׁי Ber. 29 *b;* לַבּוֹנֵי *to lie flat*, Sabb. 104 *a*.

b) qittûlê:[1] לְבִיצּוֹרֵי *to subtract*, Zeb. 37 *b;* לְתִיקּוֹנֵי *to do the proper thing*, B. M. 108 *a;* תֵּירוּצֵי *to explain*, Zeb. 59 *a;* עִירוּבֵי *to make an ʿerûb*, Er. 75 *b;* פִּיגּוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Zeb. 42 *a*, for לְעִיצּוֹלֵי Pes. 85 *a*, read with eds. and MSS. לאיעצולי.

c) qattûlâ: לְזַבּוֹנָא *to sell*, A. Z. 30 *b;* לְסַפּוֹקָא *to doubt*, Ned. 2 *b;* חַסּוֹרָא *to be wanting*, Hôr. 11 *b*.

d) qattilê: נַגִּידֵי *to lash*, Pes. 52 *a*, B. M. 86 *a*.

e) qattâlê: לַבָּנֵי *to lie flat*, M. MS., Sabb. 104 *a*.

f) qattâlâ: לְצַלָּחָא *to cut, split*, B. Q. 113 *b* (but *cf.* Levy's Dictionary, *s. v.*).

g) qattil: לְיַיבֵּם Yeb. 39 *b;* חַבֵּיל *to wound*, B. Q. 87 *a;* לְבָרֵךְ *to say grace*, Ber. 53 *b;* לְשָׁרֵשׁ *to uproot*, B. B. 82 *a*.

h) qattûl: לְבָרוֹךְ Ber. 22 *b*. (This might also be a form qattâl.)

i) maqattil: לְמְשָׁרֵשׁ B. B. 82 *a*.

[1] *Cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, §101 *sq.*

[2] Yemen MSS. have sometimes ־ֻ or ־ֻו for וֹ, which is the Arabic way of vocalization.

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j) maqattal: מפכח *to become darker*, Nidd. 20 *b;* כמרקע *to patch*, ʿArûkh, B. B. 20 *a*.

k) maqattâlâ: למיפטרא *to free*, Qidd. 64 *b*.

l) qattâlûịê: כברויי *to fumigate with sulphur*, B. Q. 93 *b;* שרשויי *to benefit*, M. Q. 12 *a;* הדרויי *to turn*, V. L., A. Z. 38 *b*.

m) qattâlûị: שרשוי, ʿArûkh, M. Q. 12 *a*.[1]

Active Participle.—§ 293. The מ-prefix has sometimes an *i* vowel. At times it is dropped (§ 58), especially with enclitic pronouns.

Sing. masc.—§ 294. *a*) מפרש *explains*, Ned. 2 *b* (§ 8); משמת *puts under ban*, *ibid.* 7 *b;* מתרץ *explains*, *ibid.* 34 *a;* מזבין *sells*, *ibid.* 31 *b;* מבטיל *neutralizes*, Pes. 115 *b;* מיסריך *clings*, B. M. 71 *a;* perhaps also חביל *wounds*, M. MS., B. Q. 87 *a;* קדים Ber. 18 *b*.[2]

b) מהדר *returns*, Ned. 33 *b;* מגלח *shaves*, *ibid.* 19 *b;* מפכח *leaves*, ʿArûkh, Meg. 12 *b;* מימלח *rows*, Keth. 85 *a;* מיעבר B. Q. 101 *a;* מסדר *recites*, Ber. 10 *a*, 13 *a;* מיהדר *seeks*, Ber. 15 *a;* משמח *makes glad*, Ber. 35 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 295. מכפרה *atones*, Macc. 11 *b;* מצערא *vexes*, Yeb. 63 *a;* מקשטא *adorns*, *ibid.* 63 *b;* מהדרא *turns*, *ibid.;* משקרא, משקרה, *lies*, Ned. 91 *a;* מפכחא *makes ineffective*, Ber. 55 *a;* מקרבא *comes near*, B. B. 73 *b;* מיעברא *relents*, Yeb. 63 *b;* מיקדמה Ned. 91 *a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 296. מרגזין *they anger*, Ned. 21 *b;* מצערי *vex*, *ibid.* 23 *a;* משקרי *tell lies*, R. H. 32 *b;* מסלקי *remove*, מברכי *pronounce benediction*, Ber. 44 *b;* מצערו Taan. 23 *b*, 24 *b*, Ber. 10 *a;* מבעתו *frighten*, Meg. 29 *a;* מבדרו *scatter, strew*, Gitt. 57 *a;* מגנבו *steal*, Ber. 18 *b;* מינטרי A. Z. 19 *b;* קדמי Ber. 18 *b;* שבשי *vine-gardeners*, B. M. 73 *a;* משדרו Pes. 113 *a;* משרשו *benefit*, M. Q. 12 *a*.[3]

Plur. fem.—§ 297. מרמזן *wink*, Sabb. 62 *b;* מרחשן *move*, Sanh. 67 *b;* משחנן *keep warm*, Gitt. 70 *a*.

[1] לשדורי, *SM.*, No. xxv. (voc.); כפורא, *ibid.* No. lxx.; נטורא, *Šeʾēl.*, ed. pr., p. 20; לברוכא, *HG.* 73; ליבומא, *ibid.* 282; סליקי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, § 28; לפרק *to explain*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 290; למבריך, *TR.*, II. 9.

[2] מיכנת, *HG.*, ed. pr., 133 *d;* מנקוה, *Igg. Šertrâ*, 35.

[3] קא מזבניא, *HG.* ed. pr. 100 *b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 298. מִיהֲדַק *squeezed in*, Sabb. 65 *a;* מְפַשַּׁר *explained*, Ber. 55 *a;* מְפַנַּק *pampered*, Sabb. 109 *a*, B. Q. 34 *a;* מְחַסַּר *broken*, מְשַׁלַּם *entire*, Taan. 25 *a;* מְלַבַּן *stretched flat*, Sabb. 104 *a;* מְנַגַּע *is leprous*, Ḥull. 60 *a;* מְקָרַב *is nearer*, Ber. 44 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 299. מְהַגְּנָא *proper*, Taan. 22 *b;* מְחַסְּרָא Ned. 37 *a*, מִיחַסְּרָא *wanting*, *ibid.* 23 *b;* מְסַפְּקָא *doubtful*, Bêçâ 4 *b;* מְעַבְּרָא *intercalated*, Ned. 63 *a;* *e.* מְעַבַּרְתָּא *with young*, B. Q. 47 *a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 300. מְבָרְכִין Yeb. 63 *a;* מְכַנְּפִין *are gathered*, Ned. 8 *b;* מְפַנְּקֵי *pampered*, Sabb. 54 *a*, 109 *a;* מְסַפְּקֵי *doubted*, Qidd. 39 *a;* שַׁלְהֵי *tired*, Ber. 6 *b;* מְיַיבְּשֵׁי *dried*, A. Z. 28 *b;* מְכַנְּפֵי *gathered*, Ber. 56 *a;* מְזַבְּנֵי, Alfâsî, B. M., Pereq. IV.

Plur. fem.—§ 301. מְקָרְבָן *are near*, Sabb. 104 *a;* מְחַלְּקָן *are separated*, Keth. 5 *b;* מְסָרְגָאן *placed with interruption*, B. B. 73 *a;* מְבַדְּרָן *scattered*, Ber. 56 *a;* מְעַשְּׂרָן *are tithed*, Ḥull. 7 *b*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle.*—§ 302. *a*) מְבָרֵיכְנָא Ber. 53 *b;* מְהַדַּרְנָא *I repeat*, *ibid.;* מְהַדְּרָנָא *will answer*, Sanh. 91 *a* (f.); מְשַׁדַּרְנָא *I send*, Sabb. 108 *b*.

b) מְפָרְשַׁתְּ *thou explainest*, Ḥull. 58 *a;* מְבָרְכַתְּ Ber. 53 *b;* מְגָרְשַׁתְּ *divorcest*, *ibid.* 56 *a;* מְזַבְּנִית *thou sellest*, B. M. 72 *a*, מְדַבְּרַת *wilt thou lead*, Keth. 63 *a* (f.); מְזַבֵּינַתְּ, Alfâsî, B. B. 40 *b*.

c) מְשַׁחְדִינָא *we bribe*, Taan. 24 *a;* מְזַבְּנִינָא *we sell*, Qidd. 59 *a;* מְסַדְּרִינָן *we put in order*, Taan. 14 *a;* מְנַקְּטִינָן *we take*, Ber. 44 *a;* מְקַדְּמִינָן, מְאַחְרִינָן, *ibid.* 52 *a;* מְשַׁתְּקִינָן *we silence*, *ibid.* 33 *a;* מְבָרְכִינָן *ibid.* 36 *a;* קַדְּמִינָן Pes. 58 *a;* יַיבְּמִינָן Yeb. 41 *b*.[1]

d) מְחַנְּפִיתוּ *ye favor*, Keth. 84 *b;* מְבָרְכִיתוּ Ber. 42 *a;* מְסַלְּקִיתוּ *ye remove*, B. M. 73 *a;* מְשַׁבְּחִיתוּ Keth. 112 *a;* מְשַׁלְּמִיתוּן M. MS., Sanh. 30 *a;* שַׁלְּמִיתוּן Sanh. 30 *a;* קַבְּלִיתוּ Sabb. 88 *a;* בַּצְּרִיתוּ *ye diminish*, B. M. 77 *a*.[2]

Passive Participle.—§ 303. *b*) מְפַקְּדַתְּ *thou art bidden*, Ber. 10 *a;* מִיפַּקְּדַתְּ Yeb. 65 *b* (f.); מְעַבְּרַתְּ *thou art with child*, B. B. 141 *b*.

c) מְרַחְקִינָן *we are far*, B. B. 73 *b;* מְפַקְּדִינָן Yeb. 47 *b*.

d) מְקָרְבִיתוּ *ye are near*, B. B. 65 *a*.

[1] מְקָרִישְׁנָא, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, § 91; מְסַלְּקִינָן, *ibid.* § 9.

[2] מְקַדִּישְׁתּוּ, *HG.* 44; מְקַבְּלִתּוּן, *HG.* ed. pr. 107 *a*.

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Aph'ēl.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	אַקְטוֹל
3d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלָא, ־ַת	אַקְטֵילָא, ־ַת, (טְ)	אַקְטוֹלָא, ־ַת
2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלְתְּ	אַקְטַלְתְּ, (טֵ)	—
2d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלִית	—	—
1st com. . .	אַקְטַלִי[ת]	אַקְטֵילִי[ת]	אַקְטוֹלִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc.	אַקְטַלוּ	אַקְטִילוּ אַקְטוּל	אַקְטוּלוּ
3d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלָן	אַקְטִילָן	—
2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלְתּוּן	אַקְטֵילְתּוּן, (טַ)	—
1st com.	אַקְטַלְנָא, אַקְטַלַן, אַקְטַלִינָן, אַקְטַלְנָן	אַקְטִילִינָן, אַקְטְלִינָן	— —
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לַקְטַל, (לִי', נַ', נִי')	לַקְטֵיל, (לִי', נַ', נִי')	—
3d fem. . . .	תַּקְטַל	תַּקְטֵיל	—
2d masc. . .	תַּקְטַל	תַּקְטֵיל	—
1st com. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לַקְטְלוּ[ן], (לִי, נִי')	
3d fem. . . .		לַקְטְלָן, (לִי', נִי')	
2d masc. . .		תַּקְטְלוּ[ן], (טִי)	
1st com. . .	נַקְטַל	נַקְטֵיל	—
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	—
2d fem. . . .	—	אַקְטִילִי	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלוּ, ־טוּל	אַקְטִילוּ[ן]	אַקְטוּלוּ
INFINITIVE		אַקְטוֹלֵי	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מַקְטַל	מַקְטֵיל	—
fem. .	מַקְטְלָא	מַקְטְלָא	—
Passive, sg. masc.		מַקְטַל	
fem. .		מַקְטְלָא	

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EXAMPLES FOR APHʿĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 304. *a*) [B הַקְטֵל; TM אַקְטֵיל; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠ].—אַסְהֵיד *he testified*, Ber. 58 *a;* אַדְלֵיק *he lit*, Sabb. 21 *b;* אַפְקֵיד *entrusted*, Šebu. 45 *b;* אַכְרֵיז Ned. 39 *b;* אַשְׁקֵיל *caused to pass over*, Sanh. 77 *b;* אִיזְקֵין (§ 68) *grew old*, Zeb. 59 *a;* אַתְלֵיע *became worm-eaten*, Macc. 7 *b;* אִישְׁתֵּיק ʿEn Y. Bekh. 44 *b*.

b) אַשְׁכַּח *he looked at*, Ber. 28 *a;* אַהְדַּר Ned. 41 *a;* אַרְוַוח *made profit*, B. Q. 50 *a;* אַשְׁכַּח *found*, B. M. 23 *b*.[1]

c) אַסְרוֹחַ *putrefied*, Nāz. 50 *a;* (אַשְׁמוֹעִינַן *causes us to hear*, Ned. 73 *a*, Meg. 7 *a*, R. H. 6 *a*, Taan. 30 *a*).

3d sing. fem.—§ 305. *a*) [B הַקְטֵלַת; T אקטילת, אקטלת; M אקטילאת, אקטלאת; S ܐܰܩܛܠܰܬ].—אַתְחֵילָה *she began*, Gitt. 73 *a*, Yeb. 79 *b;* אַרְגֵּישָׁה Nidd. 57 *b;* אַרְגֵּילָה Yeb. 26 *a;* אַחְמֵיצָה Alf. Pes. 7 *a*, With loss of stem-vowel: אַרְגְּשָׁה Nidd. 57 *b;* אִיקְרְבַת Yeb. 39 *b* (legal style).

b) אַשְׁכַּחָא M. Q. 27 *b;* אַסְרְחָא Tem. 31 *a*.[2]

c) אַזְקוֹנָה *she became old*, Nidd. 47 *a*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 306 α. [B הַקְטֵלְתְּ; T אַקְטֵילְתָּא, אקטילת; Pal. Talm. אקטלת; M אקטילת; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠܬ].—אַפְסֵדְתְּ *didst spoil*, Keth. 61 *b;* אַסְהֵדְתְּ *didst witness*, Pes. 113 *b;* אַתְקַפְתְּ *madest difficult*, B. B. 129 *a;* אַהְדַּרְתְּ *didst turn*, Pes. 86 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחְתְּ *didst find*, B. M. 63 *a*.[3]

2d sing. fem.—§ 306 β. אַרְבַּעִית *didst place*, B. Q. 114 *a*.

1st sing. com.—§ 307. *a*) [B הַקְטֵלֵת; T אַקְטֵילִית; Pal. Talm. אקטלית; M אקטילית, אקטלית; S ܐܰܩܛܠܶܬ].—אַרְגֵּישִׁית *I stirred up*, Sanh. 95 *a* (Palest.); אַחְזֵיקִי *I gained claim to possession*, B. B. 41 *a;* אַחְזֵיקִי *I supported*, Ned. 22 *a;* אַרְחֵיקִי *I have removed*, B. B. 26 *a;* אַשְׁלֵימַת *I have delivered*, Taan. 29 *a;* אִיחְרֵיבִית *I have destroyed*, ʿEn Y. *ibid.* 25 *a*.[4]

b) אַשְׁכַּחִי Sabb. 140 *b*, B. Q. 20 *b;* אַבְרַחִי *I chased away*, B. M. 108 *b;* אַהְדַּרִי Sanh. 95 *a*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 308. *a*) [B הַקְטִלוּ; T אַקְטֵילוּ; Pal. Talm. אקטלון; M אקטיל; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠܘ, ܐܰܩܛܶܠ].—אַקְרִיבוּ Zeb. 86 *a;* אַסְהִידוּ Sanh. 27 *a;* אַקְדִירוּ *grew dark*, Pes. 118 *b;* אַקְדִימוּ *came before*,

[1] Whether אַשְׁכַּח is originally Qal, as Kautzsch holds (*Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, p. 174), or Aphʿēl, as Nöldeke (*GGA*. 1884, p. 1019) asserts, is immaterial as regards the form.

[2] אַשְׁכַּחַת, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 388.

[3] אַחְזֵיקְתְּ, *HG.* ed. pr. 102 *b*.

[4] אַפְקֵידִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 83 *c;* אַחְרִיבַת, *SM.* No. v. *a* (voc.); אַכְעִיסַת, *ibid.* No. XXIII, (voc.).

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Ber. 50 *b;* אִירְחִיקוּ *were far away*, Ḥull. 17 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel, by analogy with the participle: אִיקְרְבוּ C. MS., Zeb. 86 *a;* אַסְהֲדִי B. Q. 73 *a;* אַקְדְּמִין Hag. Hat. Sabb. 88 *a;* אַכְרְזוּ Men. 64 *b*.

b) אַשְׁכַּחוּ Ned. 50 *ab*, Sanh. 109 *a;* אַהְדַּרוּ Taan. 23 *b;* אַצְלַחוּ *were successful*, A. Z. 26 *a*.[1]

c) אַשְׁקוּלוּ *they caused to be removed*, Qidd. 81 *a;* (אַפְרוּשִׁינְהוּ *they separated them*, *ibid.* 69 *b*).

d) אַחְמוּר Nidd. 66 *a;* אַצְרוּךְ Gitt. 2 *b;* אַזְמוּן Ber. 50 *b*, 55 *b;* אַכְרוּז Qidd. 70 *b;* אַהְדוּר Meg. 14 *b;* אַחְזוּק *have adopted*, Ḥull. 4 *a*.[2]

3d plur. fem.—§ 309. אַשְׁבַּחָן *have ameliorated*, B. M. 110 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחָן *have found*, Nidd. 48 *a*.[3]

2d plur. masc.—§ 310. *a*) [הַקְטֵלְתּוּן; T אַקְטֵילְתּוּן; S ܐܩܛܠܬܘܢ].—אִתְרֵיסְתּוּן *ye made war*, Tām. 31 *b*.

b) אַדְכַּרְתּוּן M. MS., B. B. 171 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחְתּוּן Sabb. 67 *a;* אַשְׁגַּחִיתוּ *ye paid attention*, Succ. 31 *a*.

1st plur. com.—§ 311. *a*) [B הַקְטֵלְנָא; T אַקְטֵילְנָך; M אקטילניך S ـنـ, ܐܩܛܠܢ].—אַתְחִילִינָן Ber. 15 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel: אַתְחְלִינָן *began*, Ber. 14 *b;* אַכְרְזִינָן Sanh. 26 *b;* אַטְבְּלִינָן Nidd. 30 *a*.

b) אַשְׁכַּחְנָא Pes. 2 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחָן Ned. 79 *a;* אַשְׁכַּחְנָן C. MS., Zeb. 68 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחִינָן Sabb. 30 *b;* אַשְׁכַּחִין Hôr. 10 *a*.[4]

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 312. *a*) [B יְהַקְטֵל, יַקְטֵל; T יַקְטֵיל; M נאקטיל; S ܢܩܛܠ].—לִכְרֵיז Qidd. 81 *a;* נַמְתִּיק *becomes sweet*, Ber. 39 *a;* לַחְרֵים *puts under ban*, ʿAr. 28 *a;* נַעֲנֵיק Qidd. 17 *a;* לִיחְמֵיר *puts under heavy restrictions*, Yeb. 88 *a;* לַפְסֵיד B. M. 58 *a*.

b) נִיהֲדַר B. Q. 81 *a;* לִישְׁמַע *ibid.* 49 *b;* נִיעֲבַר Keth. 16 *b;* נַהֲדַר Ber. 6 *a;* לַשְׁבַּע Ned. 25 *a;* נִיפְרַח *lets fly*, A. Z. 10 *a*.[5]

2d sing. masc.—§ 313. *a*) תַּעֲנֵישׁ *punishest*, Ḥag. 5 *b;* תַּדְרֵיל *windest skeins*, ʿArûkh, Yeb. 63 *a;* תַּחְמֵיץ Pes. 7 *a*.

b) תַּשְׁכַּח *findest*, Sabb. 152 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 314. *a*) אַחְזֵיק Taan. 23 *b*.

b) אַהֲדַר *I take my word back*, Sanh. 102 *b*.[6]

3d plur. masc.—§ 315 *a*. [B יְהַקְטְלוּן, יַקְטְלוּן; T יַקְטְלוּן, יַקְטְלוּן; M נאקטלון; S ܢܩܛܠܘܢ].—לִיקַדְּמוּ Sabb. 151 *b;* לִיחָרְמֵי ʿAr. 28 *a;* לַרְגְּשׁוּן *they notice*, ʿEn Y. Gitt. 56 *a;* נִיקְרְבוּ Šebu. 12 *a;* לִיסְהֲדוּ Alf. B. B. 29 *a*.

[1] אִתְלַעִין *became worm-eaten*, *Hal. Pes.*, § 61.

[2] אַשְׁבּוּחַ, *HG.* ed. pr. 98 *d;* אַצְמוּק, *ibid.* 130 *b*.

[3] אַחְמִיצָן, *HG.* ed. pr. 29 *d*.

[4] אַהְדַרְנָן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 80; אַתְמַהְנָן, *ibid.* §§ 64, 330.

[5] לַאֲרְווּח, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 335; לִיתְנַח, *HG.* ed. pr. 35 *d*.

[6] אַבְלַע, *HG.* ed. pr. 94 *c*.

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3d plur. fem.—§315 *β*. לִרְגְּשָׁן Gitt. 56 *a*.

2d plur. masc.—§316. [B תְּהַקְטְלוּן; T תִּקְטְלוּן; M תאקטלון; S ܬܶܩܛܠܽܘܢ].—תַּחְזְקוּ *ye claim possession*, B. B. 29 *b; תַּשְׁגִּיחוּן ye pay attention*, Ned. 91 *b;* תַּשְׁגְּחוּן Alf. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.—§317. *a*) נַחֲזֵיק Taan. 23 *b*.

b) נַשְׁכַּח Sabb. 30 *b*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§318. *a*) [B הַקְטֵל; T אַקְטֵיל; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠ].—אַטְמֵין *hide*, Sabb. 51 *a;* אַכְרֵיז Ber. 55 *b;* אַקְדֵים Ned. 3*a*.

b) אַפְרַח *let fly*, Šebu. 30 *b;* אַפְקַר Succ. 44 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§319. *a*) [T אַקְטִילִי, אַקְטַלִי; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠܝ].—אַקְדִּימִי— Sabb. 151 *b*, eds.

Plur. masc.—§320. *a*) [T אַקְטִילוּ; Pal. Talm. אקטלון; S ܐܰܩܛܶܠܽܘܢ, ܐܰܩܛܶܠܘ].—אַכְרִיזוּ Ned. 40 *a;* אַשְׁלִימוּ *finish*, Ber. 8 *b;* אַתְחִילוּ *begin*, M. Q. 22 *a;* אַגְמִירוּ *teach*, *ibid.* 13 *b;* אַדְרִימוּ *turn south*, B. B. 25 *b;* אַחְרִיפוּ *come early*, Sanh. 70 *b;* אִיפְשִׁילוּ *twist*, 'En Y., Bekh. 8 *b*.

b) [T אַקְטַלוּ].—אַהֲדַמוּ *arrange the pieces*, Gitt. 67 *b;* אַגְבַּרוּ Sanh. 38 *a*.

c) אַחְזוּקוּ *be strong, hail!* Gitt. 62 *a;* אַגְמוּרוּ *teach ye*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*.

d) אַהְדוּר *return*, Keth. 84 *b*.

INFINITIVE.—§321. The usual form of the infinitive is אַקְטוֹלֵי; all the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'aqtûlê: לְאַכְרוֹזֵי Qidd. 70 *b;* אַסְהוֹדֵי *to testify*, Macc. 6 *a;* אַפְרוֹשֵׁי *to separate*, Qidd, 69 *b;* אַדְכּוֹרֵי *to remind*, Ber. 14 *b;* אַזְהוֹרֵי *to warn*, Macc. 23 *a;* אַתְמוֹהֵי *to be astonished*, B. B. 98 *b;* אַכְחוֹשֵׁי (§23 c) *to declare false*, Sanh. 69 *a;* אַרְווֹחֵי *to extend*, B. Q. 50 *a;* לְצַמּוֹחֵי *to cause to grow*, M. Q. 2 *b;* לַחֲרוֹבֵי *to destroy*, Taan. 29 *a* (§50).

b) 'iqtûlê: לְאִיפְסוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 14 *b;* לְאִישְׁתּוֹנֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b;* לְאִיסְטוֹנֵי *to inform against*, Yômâ 20 *b* (some eds.).

c) 'aqtûl: אַתְמוֹהַּ V. L., Pes. 17 *a*.[1]

d) maqtûlê: מַמְתּוֹחֵי *to stretch*, M. Q. 10 *a* (catch-word of the Tôsephôth); (מַפְטְרַיידוּ Ber. 53 *b*).

e) maqtal: לְמַפְרַח *to let fly*, A. Z. 10 *a;* מַקְדַּם Yômâ 18 *b*.

f) miqtal: מִיהְדַר M. MS., B. Q. 81 *b;* לְמִיטְרַח *to trouble*, Meg. 22 *b*.

g) naqtal: נַהֲדַר B. Q. 81 *b*.

[1] לְאַעְבָרָה (Meg. 25 *a*) is a quotation of the Targum to Lev. 18:21.

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h) 'aqtâlûiê: אַסְבָּרוּיֵי *to teach*, MSS. B. B. 155 *b;* אַדְמוּיֵי (contracted from אַהֲדָמוּיֵי) *to carve, cut to pieces*, A. Z. 38 *b.*[1]

Active Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 322. *a*) מַתְקֵין Ned. 9 *b;* מַקְדִּישׁ *ibid.* 13 *a;* מַכְרֵיז Sabb. 140 *b;* מַסְהֵיד Ber. 60 *b;* מַחְמֵיר Šebu. 46 *a.*

b) מַדְכַּר *reminds*, Ned. 32 *b;* מַשְׁכַּח *ibid.* 31 *b*, 54 *b;* מַשְׁגַּח Sanh. 106 *b;* מַשְׁמַע *lets hear*, Ned. 5 *a*, 55 *a;*[2] מַתְמַה *is astonished*, B. B. 98 *b;* מַכְשַׁר Zeb. 25 *a;* מַיְגַמַר *teaches*, A. Z. 3 *b.*

Sing. fem.—§ 323. מַפְסְדָה *causes loss*, B. M. 17 *b;* מַנְסְבָא *gives in marriage*, Ned. 23 *a;* מַצְוְוחָא *causes pain*, Sabb. 93 *b;* (eds. מַצְוְוחָן; *cf.* § 226).

Plur. masc.—§ 324. *a*) מַתְחֲלִי *begin*, Sabb. 144 *a;* מַפְקְרִי *ibid.;* מַחְרְמִי 'Ar. 28 *a;* מַכְחֲשִׁי Sanh. 69 *a* (§ 23 *c*); מַיְגְמְרִי B. B. 149 *a;* מַרְחֲשׁוּן Sanh. 90 *b;* מַדְכְּרוּ Meg. 18 *b;* מַשְׁכְּחוּ Pes. 112 *b;* מַפְסְדוּ B. M. 109 *a.*

b) מַקְרִיבִין Gitt. 56 *a;* מַחְמִירִי Nidd. 12 *b;* מַכְרִיזִי Pes. 112 *b;* מַפְסִידִי Keth. 67 *b;* with retention of the vowel of the singular.

Plur. fem.—§ 325. מַתְחֲלָן B. M. 16 *a;* מַשְׁחֲרָן *are black*, Ber. 28 *a;* מַפְסְדָן *cause damage*, Taan. 25 *a;* מַצְוְוחָן *cause pain*, eds. Sabb. 33 *b.*

Passive Participle.—§ 326. מַחְזַק Bekh. 12 *b;* מַפְסַק Ḥull. 59 *a;* מַסְמְכָא A. Z. 25 *a;* מַרְגְּלָא Ber. 17 *a;* מַצְרְכִי Nidd. 12 *b;* מַבְלְעָן 'Er. 21 *a;* מַפְסְקָן 'En Y. Ḥull. 59 *a.*

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§ 327. *a*) מַשְׁלִימְנָא *I deliver*, Ḥag. 5 *a;* מַטְבִּילְנָא *I dip*, Sabb. 108 *b;* מַפְסִידְנָא *I spoil*, *ibid.;* מַרְווחְנָא *I cause profit*, B. M. 73 *a.*[3]

b) מַשְׁכַּחַתְּ Ber. 19 *a;* מַשְׁלַחַתְּ *strippest*, *ibid.* 56 *b;* מַחְרְבַתְּ *destroyest*, B. M. 86 *a* (M. MS. מַחְרְבִית).

c) מַפְסִדִינָא B. M. 109 *a;* מַתְחֲלִינַן Ber. 14 *b;* מַהַדְרִינַן *ibid.* 26 *b;* מַטְרְחִינַן Yômâ 19 *a;* מַפְסְקִינַן Pes. 105 *a;* מַחְזְקִינַן Šebu. 46 *b;* מַתְחֲלִינִין M. MS., Pes. 55 *a;* מַהַדְּרִינִי Keth. 103 *b;* מַחְזִיקִינַן 'Ar. 22 *b.*[4]

d) מַחֲנִיפִיתּוּ *ye flatter*, Keth. 63 *b;* מַחְנְפִיתּוּ (or מַחֲנְפִיתּוּ) *ibid.* 84 *b;* מַהַדְּרִיתּוּ *ye turn away*, M. Q. 22 *a;* מַפְסְדִיתּוּ B. M. 73 *a.*

[1] אַמְתּוּנֵי *to wait*, *HG.* 324.

[2] קָא מַשׁ לָךְ, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §§ 245, 275; קָאמַשְׁלָךְ, *ibid.*, §§ 334, 337, 340, for קָא מַשְׁמַע לָךְ.

[3] מַשְׁלִימְנָא, *HG.* ed. pr. 70 *d* (f.); מַבְרַחִי, *ibid.* 98 *c.*

[4] מַיטְרִיחִינַן, *TR.* ii, 10; מַשְׁבְּעִינַן, *ibid.* 38; מַדְכְּרִינַן, *HG.* 44; מַכְרִיזִינַן, *HG.* ed. pr. 125 *d;* מַצְרִיכִינַן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 231; מַרְחִיקִינִין, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, § 91.

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Ithpᵉ'ēl and Ithpa''al.

	ITHPᴱ'ĒL.		ITHPA''AL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אִיקְטַל	אִיקְטֵיל, (טוֹ)	אִיקַטַל, (טֵי, טוֹ)
3d fem. . . .	אִיקְטְלָא, ־ַת		אִיקַטְלָא, ־ַת, (טֵי)
2d masc. . .	אִיקְטַלְתְּ		אִיקַטַלְתְּ
1st com. . .	אִיקְטַלִי[ת]	אִיקְטֵילִי[ת]	אִיקַטַלִי[ת], (טוֹ)
Plur. 3d masc.	אִיקְטַלוּ	אִיקְטִילוּ, (טוּ)	אִיקַטַלוּ
	אִיקְטוּל		אִיקַטוּל
3d fem. . . .	אִיקְטַלָן		אִיקַטַלָן
2d masc. . .	אִיקְטַלִיתוּ	אִיקְטִילִיתוּ, אִיקְטֵילְתוּ	אִיקַטַלִיתוּ
1st com.	אִיקְטַלִינָן, ־ַלְנָא	——	אִיקַטַלְנָא
	אִיקְטַלַן	——	——
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטַל	לִיקְטֵיל, (טוֹ)	לִיקַטַל, (טוֹ)
3d fem. . . .	תִּיקְטַל	תִּיקְטֵיל, (טוֹ)	תִּיקַטַל
2d masc. . .	תִּיקְטַל	תִּיקְטֵיל, (טוֹ)	תִּיקַטַל
2d fem. . . .	——	——	תִּיקַטְלִי
1st com. . .	אֶיקְטַל	אֶיקְטֵיל	אֶיקַטַל
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקַטְלוּ[ן]		לִיקַטְלוּ[ן]
3d fem. . . .	לִיקַטְלָן		לִיקַטְלָן
2d masc. . .	תִּיקַטְלוּ[ן]		תִּיקַטְלוּ[ן]
1st com. . .	——	——	נִיקַטַל
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. masc.	אִיקְטַל	אִיקְטֵיל	אִיקַטַל, (טֵי)
fem.	——	——	אִיקַטַלִי
Plur. masc.	אִיקְטַלוּ	——	אִיקַטַלוּ, (טִי, טוּ)
INFINITIVE	אִיקְטוֹלֵי		אִיקַטוֹלֵי
PARTICIPLE—			
Sing. masc.	מִיקְטַל	מִיקְטֵיל	מִיקַטַל
fem.	מִיקַטְלָא		מִיקַטְלָא

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EXAMPLES FOR ITHPᴱ'ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§328. *a*) [B אִתְקְטֵל; T אִתְקְטֵיל, אִתְקְטִיל].—אִמְּלִיךְ *he consulted*, Ber. 27 *b;* אִיצְּרִיךְ *was necessary*, Ned. 29 *b;* אִינְּקִיב *was pierced*, Ḥull. 46 *a;* אִידְּרִיק Pes. 88 *b* (C. MS. אִיזְדְּרִיק); אִיצְטְרִיךְ Ned. 67 *a*, 76 *b;* אִישְׁתְּמִיט *disappeared*, Ned. 50 *b*, M. Q. 12 *b;* אִצְטְלִיק *was split*, Ber. 56 *b;* אִשְׁתְּקִיל *was taken away*, Ḥag. 2 *b*.

b) [T אִתְקְטַל].—אִיעְנַשׁ *was punished*, M. Q. 25 *a;* אִיקְּפַד *took offence*, Ned. 22 *b;* אִיחֲצַף *was irreverent*, Ned. 64 *b;* אִיכְּפַל *took trouble*, Zeb. 15 *a* (אִקְּפַל Ḥull. 44 *a*, id.); אִתְפַּקַר *was insulting, disobedient*, M. Q. 16 *a;* אִיהֲדַר Ned. 50 *a;* אִיקְּלַע *arrived*, *ibid.* 62 *a;* אִישְׁתְּכַח *was found*, *ibid.* 50 *a.*[1]

c) אִיכְּתוֹב *was written*, Zeb. 2 *b;* אִיבְּצוֹל *grew bulbous*, 'Arûkh, 'Er. 29 *b;* אִשְׁתְּפוֹךְ *was spilled*, Gitt. 57 *b;* אִתְּקוֹל *met with an accident*, eds. B. Q. 29 *a;* אִיפְּלוֹג *was divided*, B. B. 121 *b.*[2]

3d sing. fem.—§329. *a*) [B הִתְקְטֶלֶת; T אִתְקְטֵילַת; Pal. Talm. אתקטילת, אתקטלת; M עתקיטלאת, עקיטלאת; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬ].—אִיתְקִילָה *met with accident*, B. Q. 29 *a;* אִיתְעֲבִידָא Sabb. 3 *a;* אִיטְמִישָׁא *was soaked*, Succ. 10 *b;* אִיפְּשִׁיטָא *was explained*, Ber. 25 *b;* אִיצְטְרִיכָא *ibid.* Ned. 60 *b;* אִיתְהֲפִיכָא *was turned*, M. Q. 20 *a;* אִימְּתִילָה *was likened*, Sanh. 95 *a;* אִיתְנְסִיבַת 'En Y. Ned. 50 *a.*[3]

b) אִיכַּסְפָא *was ashamed*, Taan. 25 *a;* אִיפַּסְלָה *became unfit*, Zeb. 15 *a;* אִינַּקְבָה *was pierced*, Ḥull. 49 *a;* אִימַּרְדָה *rebelled*, B. M. 84 *b;* אִיבַּלְעָא *was taught*, Ber. 24 *b;* אִיצְטַרְכָא Sabb. 148 *b.*[4]

2d sing. masc.—§330. [T אִתְקְטֵילְתָּא; Pal. Talm. איתקטלת; M אתקטילת; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬ].—אִיכְּרַכְתְּ *didst mingle*, Keth. 77 *b;* אִימְּלַכְתְּ B. B. 17 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§331. *a*) [T איתקטילית; Pal. Talm. איקטלת; M עתקיטלית, עקיטלית; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬ].—אִיצְטְרִיכִי Gitt. 58 *a;* אִינְסֵיבִי *I was married*, Yeb. 66 *a.*[5]

[1] אִיתְסְכַר, *HG*. 501; אִיתְבְּשַׁל (or אִיתְבַּשַּׁל), *HG*. ed. pr. 133 *d*.

[2] אִיפְּסִיקַאי Alfasi, הלכות טומאה, passing into ל״ר.

[3] אִיתְנְטִלִית Sabb. 116 *b* ('En Y. אִיתְנְטִילַת). Palestinean.—אִישְׁתְּכָחִית, *TG*., ed. Harkavy, §550; אִשְׁתְּמָאר *was heard*, *SM*. No. xcv., passing into ל״ר verbs; הִפְּסִיבָא *HG*. 293.

[4] The traditional pronunciation of lengthened forms of the Ithpᵉ'ēl are אִיקְּטְלָא, לִיקְּטְלוּ, מִיקְּטְלִי, etc. What justification there is for such a pronunciation it is difficult to tell.

[5] אִימְּלִיכִי, *HG*. ed. pr. 100 *d*.

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b) [T אִתְקְטַלִית].—אִיקְלַעִית *I arrived*, Sabb. 145*b*; אִיקְלַעִי Sanh. 97*a*, Ber. 49*a*; אִסְתַּגַּרִי *I am engrossed*, F. MS., B. Q. 40*a*; אִימְּלַכִי *I took counsel*, B. B. 30*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.—§332. *a*) [B הִתְקְטַלוּ; T אִתְקְטִילוּ, אתקטלו; Pal. Talm. איתקטלון; M עתקאטלון, עתקיטלון; S ܐܬܩܛܠܘ, ܐܬܩܛܠ]. —אִיתְהֲפִיכוּ B. B. 74*b*; אִיבְּעִיתוּ *were afraid*, Meg. 3*a*; אִיצְטְרִיכִי Gitt. 72*b*; אִיפְּלִיגוּ *were divided*, Sabb. 156*a*.[2]

b) אִישְׁתְּקַלוּ 'Ar. 18*b*; אִיקְלַאעוּ C. MS., M. Q. 12*a*; אִיפְּלַגוּ *differed*, Zeb. 11*b*; אִבְּלַעוּ *were swallowed up*, Sanh. 110*a*; אִיחֲרַכִי *were charred, singed*, Nidd. 28*a*; אִחֲתְרִין *broke in*, Sanh. 109*a*.[3]

c) אִיכְּסוּפוּ *were ashamed*, Gitt. 29*b*.[4]

d) אִיזְּהוּר, אִיזְּדְּהוּר *took heed*, Qidd. 69*b*; אִימְּרוּד *rebelled*, Yeb. 108*a*; אִיבְּעוּל Yômâ 19*b*; אִינְּקוּט *were caught*, Taan. 23*b*: אִיכְּפוּל *fell in ruins*, Meg. 4*a*; אִפְּרוּק Ḥull. 44*a*; אִפְּטוּר *took leave*, M. Q. 9*a*; אִישְּׁדוּף *were blasted*, B. M. 105*b*; אִשְׁתְּדוּף *ibid*. 106*a*.[5]

3d plur. fem.—§333. [T אִתְקְטִילָא, אִתְקְטַלָא, אתקטלן; S ـــ, ܐܬܩܛܠ, ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִישְׁתְּכַחָן B. B. 24*a*; אִיקְּרַעָן *were torn*, Qidd. 70*b*; אִינְּסְבָן *were married*, Keth. 53*d*; אִיכְּנַעָן *bowed*, 'En Y. A. Z. 17*b*; אִיבְּעִיל 'Arûkh Yômâ 19*b*; אִיבְּזַעַאי *were split*, 'En Y. Bekh. 36*a*, by analogy with ל״י.[6]

2d plur. masc.—§334. [T אִתְקְטִילְתּוּן; M עתיקטילתון, עקטילתון; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬܘܢ].—אִסְתַּלִיקְתּוּ B. Q. 108*b* (M. MS. אִסְתַּלַקִיתוּ); אִיתְעֲתִירְתּוּ *ye became rich*, Hôr. 10*b*; אִיתְרַחִיתוּ *ye postpone, wait*, Sabb. 136*a*; אִיפְּטַרִיתוּ *ye took leave*, M. Q. 9*a* ('En Y. אִיפְּטִירִיתוּ).

1st plur. com.—§335. [B הִתְקְטֵלְנָא; T אִתְקְטֵילְנָא; M עתקטילנין, עקטילנין; S ـــ, ܐܬܩܛܠܢ].—אִיקְלַעַן Ḥull. 111*a*; אִיקְלַעִינַן *ibid*. 49*a*.[7]

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§336. *a*) [B יִתְקְטֵל; T יִתְקְטֵיל; M ניתיקטיל, ניקטיל; S ܢܬܩܛܠ].

b) לִיתְּבַר *is broken*, Ber. 28*a*; לִיזְּהַר Sabb. 110*b*; נִיזְּדְּהַר *takes care*, Gitt. 69*b*; לִשְׁתְּכַח *is found*, Ned. 44*a*.[8]

c) לִיפְּסוֹל *is unfit*, Zeb. 27*a*.

[1] אִידְּכַרִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 115*a*.

[2] אִיפְּלִיגוּן, *Igg. Šertrâ*, 29; אִשְׁתְּפִילוּ, *ibid*. 37.

[3] אִשְׁתְּכַחוּן, *Hal. Pes.* §73; אִיקְלַעוּ, *HG.* 129 (voc.).

[4] אִצְּרוּכוּ, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §320.

[5] אִשְׁתְּכוּחַ, *HG.* ed. pr. 92*a*; אִישְׁתְּמוּט, *ibid*. 126*c*.

[6] אִישְׁתְּכַחָן, *HG.* ed. pr. 130*a*; אִיפְּלַחָן, *ibid*. 134*d*; אִתְּקַרָן, *Igg. Šertrâ*, 15 (√עקר).

[7] אִסְתְּמִיכְנָא, *Igg. Šertrâ*, 44; אִיצְטְרִיכִינַן Alfâsi, B. M. IV.

[8] Without ל: יִמְּסַר *is delivered up*, B. M. 86*a*; יִזְּדְּהַר A. Z. 28*b*.

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3d sing. fem.—§ 337. *a*) תיפשיט *is explained*, Sabb. 140*a*; תיעביד *is done*, B. M. 29*b*.

b) תתבר *is broken*, B. M. 107*a*; תתעבד *is done*, A. Z. 10*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 338. תלחוש *listen*, B. M. 59*a*.

1st sing. com.—§ 339. *a*) אימליך *I consult*, Ber. 27*b*.

b) אסתגר *I am engrossed*, B. Q. 40*a*; איהדר *I go back*, Ned. 50*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 340. [BT ליתקטלון; M ניתקיטלון; S ܢܬܩܛܠܘܢ].—ליפסלו *are unfit*, Zeb. 4*b*, 5*a*; ליפלגו *differ*, *ibid.* 11*b*; ליתרחו *wait*, Sabb. 134*a*; ליחלפו *exchange, mix up*, *ibid.* 54*b*; לתרגלי *get accustomed*, Ned. 66*b*; ליענשו *are punished*, Bêçā 16*a*.[1]

3d plur. fem.—§ 341. לישתמען *are heard*, M. Q. 16*b*; לחמטן *ulcerate*, Sabb. 54*b*.

2d plur. masc.—§ 342. תתקטלון Keth. 19*a*; תיכספו *are ashamed*, Qidd. 18*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 343. איזדהר *take heed*, Pes. 112*a*; אישלע *have untied*, Yeb. 39*b*; אפרע *take as pay*, B. M. 118*a*; אשתמע *make thyself heard*, Sanh. 95*b*; אשתכח *find*, *ibid.* 95*a*; איקשיט *adorn thyself*, Sabb. 26*a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 344. אזדהרו *keep away*, Nidd. 47*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§ 345. The usual form of the infinitive is אתקטולי; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'ithqatûlê: לאימלוכי *to consult*, B. B. 12*b*; איזדהורי M. MS., Pes. 110*b*; אישתכוחי *ibid.* 10*b*; לאיכפולי M. Q. 2*ab*; איערומי *to act slyly*, Sabb. 38*a*; איפלוגי *to differ*, 'Er. 3*a*.

b) 'ithqatûlâ: איערומא Macc. 23*b*.

c) 'ithqatâlâ: לאתנסבא *to be married*, Keth. 53*b*.

d) mithqatûlê: מיקטופי *to be broken, interrupted*, Pes. 8*a* (fragment ed. Lowe); מיקפולי *to peel off*, Yeb. 76*a*.

e) mithqatal: מיזדהר B. B. 173*a*; למימשך *to follow*, A. Z. 27*b*; but the last example is more probably Qal.

f) mithqatâlâ: מינגדא *to be lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86*a*.

g) 'ithqatâlûiê: לאזדרבויי *to flow over*, 'Arûkh, Yômâ 78*a*.[2]

PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 346. *a*) מימליך Ned. 54*a*; מיבעית *is frightened*, Sanh. 94*a*.

b) מינגד *is lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86*a*; מיקטה *is broken*, Pes. 8*a*; מזדהר *ibid.* 111*b*.

[1] ליפליגו, *HG.* ed. pr. 106*a*; ליתפרעון, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 546.

[2] ליגסובה, *Še'ēl.* 18; איגסובה, *ibid.* 12; למגסובה, *ibid.* 21.

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Sing. fem.—§347. מִתְעַבְדָא M. MS., Pes. 54*a;* מִימַּרְדָא *rebels,* Keth. 57*b;* מִיעַרְמָא *acts slyly,* Macc. 23*b;* מִינַּסְבָא *is married,* Sabb. 94*a.*

Plur. masc.—§348. מִתְמַלְכִין *regret,* B. B. 4*a;* מִיעַנְשִׁי *are punished,* C. MS., M. Q. 25*a;* מִתְהַפְּכִי Meg. 4*b;* מִיפַּלְגִי *differ,* Ned. 54*a;* מִיגַּנְזִי *hide themselves,* Sanh. 26*a;* מִיפַּלִיגִי Zeb. 18*b.*[1]

Plur. fem.—§349. מִשְׁתַּמְעָן Sabb. 23*b;* מִכַּתְבָן Ber. 6*a;* מִימַּסְרָן Gitt. 71*b;* מִינַּקְפָן *are wounded,* ed. Ven. Ber. 6*a;* מִינַּסְבָן *are married,* Ber. 56*a.*

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§350.—*a*) מִדְכַרְנָא *I remember,* Ber. 44*b;* מִזְדְהַרְנָא *I take heed,* B. B. 29*a;* מִימַּצְרְנָא *stretch myself,* A. Z. 70*b;* מִתְפְּיסְנָא Sabb. 32*a.*

b) מִתַּפְסַתְּ *art caught,* Ber. 56*a;* מִינַּסְבַתְּ *art married,* Keth. 61*b* (f.).

c) מִיפַּקְדְנָא Qidd. 39*a.*

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA''AL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§351. *a*) [B הִתְקַטַּל; T אִתְקַטַּל; M אתקאטאל; S ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִיתְעַשַּׁר *became rich,* Gitt. 30*b;* אִיסְתַּכַּל Pes. 104*a;* אִיזְדַבַּן *was sold,* Ber. 5*b;* אִיזְדַּבַּל *was manured,* A. Z. 49*a;* אִיפַּתַּח *she brought forth,* Gitt. 69*b* (§236); אִיזַּבַּן Ned. 31*b;* אִיעַקַּר *ibid.* 41*a;* אִיעַתַּר *became rich, ibid.* 50*a.*

b) אִשְׁתַּמֵּישׁ Pes. 8*a* (ed. pr.); אִסְתַּתֵּים *was closed up,* Yeb. 75*b.*

c) אִישְׁתָּרוֹף *was burned,* Pes. 82*b;* אִיסְתַּלּוֹק Er. 60*a;* אִיגַּנּוֹב *was stolen,* B. M. 79*a;* אִיקַּדּוֹשׁ 'Arûkh, Ned. 31*a;* אִיתַּגּוֹר *has profit,* Sanh. 81*a;* אִיפַּטּוֹר(ו) *let her be freed,* Yeb. 19*a.*

d) אִישְׁתְּרְשִׁי *was of benefit,* Gitt. 35*a.*[2]

3d sing. fem,—§352. [B הִתְקַטְלַת; T אִתְקַטַּלַת; M עתקאטלאת; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬ].—אִיגַּנְּעָה *became leprous,* Ḥull. 60*a;* אִישַּׁבְּשָׁא *was persuaded,* Yeb. 108*b;* אִיעַלְמָא *escaped,* B. M. 85*b;* אִזְדַּקְרָא *staggered,* Nidd. 17*b;* אִיקַּדְשָׁא, אִיקַּדְשַׁת, Keth. 62*b;* אִיתְקַדְשַׁת Ned. 50*a;* אִיקַּדֵּישָׁה *was betrothed,* Yeb. 110*a.*[3]

2d sing. com.—§353. [הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ; T אִתְקַטַּלְתָּא, אתקטלת; M עתקאטאלת; S ܐܬܩܛܠܬ].—אִישְׁתַּבַּשְׁתְּ *art in error,* Zeb. 26*a;* אִיעַכַּבְתְּ *didst stay,* Ḥull. 105*b;* אִיפַּגַּרְתְּ *didst neglect to come,* Keth. 111*b;* אִיעַסַּקְתְּ *didst busy thyself,* Keth. 77*b.*

[1] מִיפַּלִיגִי, *HG.* 264.

[2] *Cf.* for the development of meaning Arabic تَأَثَّلَ and تَأَصَّلَ.

[3] אִיגְנָאֲרִי (for ־עִית), *SM.* No. x.; אִישְׁלְמַת, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §53.

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1st sing. com.—§354. [B הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ; T אִתְקַטַּלִית; M עתקאטלית; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܠܶܬ].—אִשְׁתַּבַּעִי *I swore*, Sanh. 109*b*; אִסְתַּכַּלִי *I looked*, B. M. 85*b*; אִסְתַּכַּנִי *I was in danger*, Keth. 61*a*, O. MS., Sabb. 145*b*; אִיעַתַּרִי Pes. 113*a*; אִשְׁתַּטַּחִי *I stretched myself out*, B. M. 85*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.—§355. *a*) [B הִתְקַטַּלוּ; T אִתְקַטַּלוּ; Pal. Talm. איתקטלון; M עתקאטאליון; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܠܘܢ, ܐܶܬܩܰܛܠܘ].—אִיעַתַּרוּ *became rich*, Taan. 23*b*; אִתְשַׁעֲרוּ (?) C. MS., M. Q. 25*b* (eds. אִשְׁתָּעוּ).[2]

b) אִשְׁתַּקּוּר Macc. 5*b*; אִיעַקּוּר Yeb. 64*b*; אִסְתַּתּוּם *were closed up*, R. H. 23*b*; אִיתַּגּוּר *made profit*, A. Z. 2*b*; אִיבַּדּוּר *may they be scattered*, Pes. 110*b*.

3d plur. fem.—§356. אִזַּרְעָן *show semen*, Ḥull. 93*b*.[3]

1st plur. com.—§357. אִידַּבַּקְנָא *I am (we are) attached*, Sanh. 29*a*.

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§358. *a*) לִיצְטַעַר Ḥag. 5*b*; לִיתְכַּשַּׁר Gitt. 87*a*; לִיצְטַרַּךְ Zeb. 31*b*; לִיסְתַּכַּן Sabb. 81*a*; לִינַּוַּל *is disfigured*, B. B. 154*b*; נִישְׁתַּלַּם B. M. 108*a*.[4]

b) נִשְׁתְּרוֹף *is burned*, Pes. 82*b*.[5]

3d sing. fem.—§359. תִּתְכַּשַּׁר Zeb. 25*a*; תִּתְקַבַּל Beç. 38*a*; תִּתְבָּרֵךְ Ber. 51*b*; תִּזְדַּמַּן *happened*, M. Q. 18*b*; תִּישְׁתַּבַּע Keth. 83*a*; תִּתַּבַּן *is covered with straw*, B. M. 103*b*; תֵּיעַבַּן *ibid.* 19*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§360*α*. תִּסְתַּכַּל B. M. 85*a*; תִּצְטַעַר Sanh. 95*a*.

2d sing. fem.—§360*β*. תִּיסַּתְּרִי Keth. 2*b*.

1st sing. com.—§361. אֶסְתַּתַּר Ber. 31*b*; אֶצְטַעַר Taan. 25*a*; אִיפַּגַּר *ibid.* 23*b*; אֶיעַכַּב Sanh. 98*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§362. *a*) לִיבַּטְלוּן Ned. 27*a*; לִיזְדַּבְּנוּ 'Er. 47*b*; לִיבַּדְּרוּ Gitt. 33*b*; לִיעַתְּרוּ Taan. 23*b*; לִיצְטָרְפוּ Sabb. 71*a*; לִיסְתַּלְּקוּ, לִיסַּלְּקוּ B. B. 43*a*.[6]

b) לִיבַּדּוּרִי Tôsāphôth, Gitt. 33*b*; נִשְׁתָּרוּפִי (?) Sabb. 110*a*.

c) נִבַּדּוּר Yeb. 72*a*.

3d plur. fem.—§363. לִבַּטְלָן Ned. 27*b*; לִיבַּדְּקָן Succ. 13*b*.

2d plur. masc.—§364. תִּתְנַחֲמוּ Sanh. 19*a*; תִּתְעַתְּרוּ B. M. 59*a*.

1st plur. com.—§365. נִצְטָעַר Taan. 25*a*.

[1] אִידַּבּוֹקִי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §1.

[2] The regular form is very rare, having been superseded by the one with transposed final vowel.

[3] אִישְׁתַּלְּמָן, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §53; אִישְׁתַּבְּעָן, *ibid.*; אִיגָּרְשָׁן, *HG.*, ed. pr. 81*d*.

[4] יִתְקַלַּס, Sota 40*a*.

[5] לִישְׁתַּתּוֹם, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §343.

[6] יִזְדַּבְּנוּן B. M. 90*b*.

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IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§366. *a*) אִסְתַּכַּל Ḥull. 60*a*; אִיטַּמַּר *hide thyself*, Yeb. 45*b*; אִידַּהַן *be fat*, Šebu. 47*b*.

b) אִידַּהַין eds. Šebu. 47*b*; אִישְׁתַּתֵּיק Alfâsî Ḥull. 132*b* (eds. אִישְׁתַּתַּק).[1]

Plur. masc.—§367. *a*) אִיטַּמַּרוּ Alfâsî B. B. 40*b*.

b) אִטַּמִּירוּ M. MS. B. B. 41*a*.

c) אִיטַּמּוּרוּ B. B. 40*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§368. The usual form of the infinitive is אִתְקַטּוֹלֵי; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'ithqattûlê: לְאִיתְפַּתּוֹחֵי *to open*, Gitt. 69*a*; אִסְתַּתּוֹמֵי *to be closed*, R. H. 23*b*; אִיתַּגּוֹרֵי *to profit*, Sanh. 81*a*, A. Z. 2*b*, Yeb. 92*b*; אִיבַּדּוֹרֵי *to scatter*, Gitt. 33*b*, Yômâ 2*b*; אִישְׁתַּבּוֹחֵי *to praise*, Pes. 50*b*; אִיזְדַּבּוֹנֵי *to be sold*, 'Ar. 29*b*; לְבַסּוֹמֵי Meg. 7*b*, C. MS. לְאִיבַּסּוֹמֵי, *to cheer oneself up with wine*.

b) 'ithqattûl: אִיתַּמּוֹהֵ *to be astonished*, 2 M. MS. Pes. 17*a*; and perhaps אִיפַּטּוֹר *to be freed*, Yeb. 19*a*; אִיבַּדּוֹר Tos. Gitt. 33*b*.

c) 'ithqatâlâ: לְאִסְתַּכְּלָא *to look*, Ḥull. 60*a*; אִיתְעַקְרָא Men. 7*a*.

d) 'ithqattâlê: אִיחַרְכֵי *to be singed*, Nidd. 28*a*.

e) 'ithqattal: אִיעַקַּר *to be torn out*, Pes. 111*b*.

f) 'ithqattâlûjê: אִיתַּמְהוּיֵי *to wonder*, Sanh. 20*a*.

g) mithqattâlâ: לְמִיפַּטְרָא *to be freed*, Rašî Yeb. 19*a*.

h) נִשְׁתְּרוֹפֵי *to melt*, Sabb. 110*a* (√שרף = √פשר). This example may also be imperfect; *cf.* §362*b*.[2]

PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§369. *a*) מִתְכַּפַּר *is forgiven*, Meg. 16*a*; מִזְדַּבַּן *is sold*, M. Q. 10*b*; מִצְטַעַר *grieves*, B. M. 84*a*; מִנַּגַּע *is smitten with leprosy*, Ḥull. 60*a*; מִיפַּתַּח *opens*, Taan. 24*a*.[3]

b) מִיסְתַּפֵּין 'En Y. Bekh. 44*b*; מִשְׁתַּלֵּים *is paid*, Pes. 28*a*.[4]

c) מִשְׁתַּרְשֵׁי *benefits*, Gitt. 44*a*, Ḥull. 131*a*, Keth. 108*a*.

Sing. fem.—§370. מִיפַּקְדָא *bidden*, Yeb. 65*b*; מִיזַּקְנָא *grows old*, 'Ar. 19*a*; מִיזַּבְנָא, מִיזְדַּבְנָא *is sold*, *ibid.* 29*b*; מִנַּטְרָיָא Bêçâ 15*a* (by analogy with ל״י).[5]

[1] אִיקַּדִּישׁ, *HG.* ed. pr. 82*d*.

[2] אִיתַּשְׁלוֹמֵי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §41; לְאִישְׁתַּבְּעַאי, *TR.*, II., 33; לְמִשְׁתַּבַּע, *HG.*, ed. pr. 105*d*; אִשְׁתַּרְשׁוּיֵי, *ibid.* 41*c*.

[3] מִתְנַגַּע, *SM.* No. x. (voc.).

[4] מִשְׁתַּמִּירת, *HG.* ed. pr. 104*d*.

[5] מִיקַּדְּשַׁת, *HG.* ed. pr. 82*d*.

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Plur. masc.—§371. מִסְתַּפְּקִין Taan. 23*b;* מִסְתַּכְּלִי Succ. 45*b;* מִתְעַתְּרִי *get rich*, Pes. 50*a;* מִיקַּבְּלוּ *are pleasing*, Taan. 23*b;* מִיתְּרְצוּן *are explained*, Taan. 14*a;* מִזְדַּבְּנוּ *are sold*, Macc. 2*b*.

Plur. fem.—§372. מִסְתַּכְּלָן *look*, Bêçā 20*a;* מִיפָּרְשָׁן *are explained, clear*, Meg. 3*a;* מִסַּתְּמָן *are unclear*, *ibid.;* מִיזַּרְדָן *are trimmed*, Ned. 61*b*, Raši; מִצְטַעֲרָן Sabb. 140*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN.—§373.—*a*) מִשְׁתַּתֵּיפְנָא *I associate myself*, M. MS. Sabb. 23*a;* מִשְׁתַּלְּמְנָא *am paid*, B. Q. 9*a;* מִסְתַּלְּקְנָא *am paid off*, B. M. 67*b;* מִסְתַּתְּרְנָא *I hide myself*, Ber. 31*b* (f.); מִשְׁתַּבְּעְנָא *I swear*, Keth. 85*a;* מִקַּדְּשְׁנָא *I am married*, Keth. 62*b* (f.).

b) מִזְדַּבְּנַתְּ *thou art sold*, Macc. 2*b;* מִיפַּקְדַת Yeb. 65*b* (f.); מִשְׁתַּתְּפַתְּ B. M. 69*a;* מִעַנְּנַתְּ Taan. 25*a*.

c) מִיזְדַּבְּנִינָן *we are sold*, Macc. 2*b*.[1]

d) מִסְתַּלְּקִיתוּ *ye are paid off, leave*, B. M. 109*a;* מִשְׁתַּלִּיתוּ (= מִשְׁתַּלְהִיתוּ) *ye become tired*, A. Z. 72*b*.

VERBS פ״נ.

§374. The נ as first stem-consonant is assimilated to the following consonant whenever both meet without an intervening vowel, or vocal šᵉvâ. This happens in the imperfect and in the infinitive Qal, in the Aph'ēl and in the Ittaph'al. The imperative Qal frequently loses initial נ by analogy of the imperfect from which it is derived.

In the verb סלק *to ascend*, which in consequence of the syncope of ל is formed like a פ״נ stem, we find also a form סַקוּ *they ascended* (Taan. 23*b*) in the perfect.[2]

The נ frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals, emphatic consonants, sibilants, בּ, ד, and פּ. Notice מִיפַּק *is taken out* (Succ. 45*a*) for מִינְפַּק. But this may also be an Aph'ēl passive participle. לְאִיתְּכְּסָאָה *to be slaughtered*, 'Er. 53*b*, passing into a ל״י form.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§375. *a*) לִינְשׁוֹף *moves*, Ber. 51*a;* לִינְפּוֹל *falls*, Meg. 22*b;* לִינְטוֹל *takes*, Gitt. 68*b;* לִינְחוֹת *goes down*, *ibid.* 67*b;* לִיפּוֹל Meg. 22*b;* נִינְקוֹט Gitt. 69*a*.[3]

[1] מִצְטַעֲרִינָנָא, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §78.

[2] *Cf.* פְּצִיהּ נְפוֹצִי *Hal. Pes.* §39. *Cf.* also Hebrew תְּקָה, קַח, etc.

[3] יִפּוֹק B. B. 169*a*.

b) לִיחֵית Sabb. 110*a;* לִיתֵּן (§8) Sabb. 104*a.*[1]

c) לִינְפַּח *blows*, Gitt. 69*a;* לִיסַּח Ned. 40*a;* נִיסַּח *withdraws*, Ber. 51*b.*[2]

3d sing. fem.—§376. תִּיפּוֹק Macc. 14*a*, Ned. 65*a*, 66*a*.

2d sing. com.—§377. *a*) תִּיטּוֹל *takest*, B. M. 105*a;* תִּינְהוֹג M. Q. 20*b;* תִּינְטוֹשׁ *strippest*, Sanh. 100*b* (from Sirach).

b) No example.

c) תִּנְסַב *marriest*, M. Q. 9*b;* Yeb. 100*b*.

1st sing. com.—§378. *a*) אֶגּוֹד *I acquire*, B. B. 13*b;* אֵיפּוֹק *I go out*, Gitt. 56*a;* אֵיחוֹת *I go down*, B. M. 15*b*.

b) אֵינְסֵיב *I marry*, Yeb. 65*a;* אֶתֵּן Gitt. 56*b*.

c) אֵינְטַר *I keep*, M. MS. B. B. 29*a;* אֵיסַּק *I go up*, M. Q. 22*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§379. *a*) לִיפְּקוּן *go out*, M. Q. 9*b*, C. MS. לִינְפְּקוּן; לִיפְּקוּ R. H. 18*a*, Bekh. 58*b;* נִינְקְטוּ *take*, Pes. 111*a;* לִיתְּנוּן *give*, Ned. 55*a.*[3]

b) נִיקוּם M. MS. Pes. 111*a*.

3d plur. fem.—§380. לִיסְּקָן, לִיפְּקָן 'En Y. M. Q. 9*b*.

2d plur. com.—§381. תִּנְקְטוּ Taan. 24*a;* תֵּיחוֹתוּ *go down*, B. B. 73*b;* תִּנְסְבוּ *ye marry*, Ber. 8*b*.

1st plur. com.—§382. *a*) נִיפּוֹק Gitt. 56*a;* נֵיחוֹת 2 M. MS. Pes. 118*b;* לֵיחוֹת B. B. 73*b*.

b) נִיתֵּן Sanh. 96*a;* נִכֵּיס *slaughters*, Sanh. 25*b*.

c) לִינְטַר B. B. 29*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§383. *a*) נְקוֹט *take*, Sabb. 147*a;* נְפוֹץ *cast off*, *ibid.;* פּוֹץ Yôma 20*b;* גּוֹד *acquire*, B. B. 13*b;* כּוֹס *slaughter*, Pes. 61*a;* דּוֹר *vow*, Qidd. 41*a;* טוֹל *take*, B. M. 28*b;* פּוֹק Ber. 17*a*.

b) נְסֵיב *marry*, Yeb. 45*a*, 63*a;* Pes. 113*a;* נְחֵית Yeb. 63*a;* תֵּן *give*, Gitt. 56*b*.

c) נְטַר *keep*, Qidd. 70*a;* נְטַךְ *raise up*, Keth. 60*a* (Rašî נְטוֹךְ); סַב *take away*, Sanh. 100*b;* סַק *ascend*, Yeb. 63*a*.

Sing. fem.—§384. טַלִי *take*, Gitt. 24*a*, Ned. 77*b.*[4]

Plur. masc.—§385. *a*) נְקוּטוּ Sanh. 90*b;* פּוּקוּ Sabb. 156*a;* חוּתוּ *come ye down*, Šebu. 31*a*.

b) נְגִידוּ *remove ye*, Gitt. 68*b*, 'Er. 94*a*.

c) נְטַרוּ Ber. 53*b*.

[1] נְנְסֵיב, לִנְסֵיב *HG.* ed. pr. 119*b*.

[2] יִנְפַּק Qidd. 81*a*.

[3] יִפְּקוּן B. B. 169*a*.

[4] סַקִי *SM.* No. cxv.

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INFINITIVE.—§386. *a*) miqtal: מִנְקַר *to chisel*, M. Q. 10*a;* מִינְסַב Sanh. 75*b;* מִינְטַר M. Q. 9*a;* מִינְדַּר Ned. 66*b;* מִינְגַּע Sanh. 19*a;* מִינְגַּד B. M. 74*b;* מִידַּר Ned. 28*a;* מִיפַּק *ibid.* 50*a;* מִיקַּם *ibid.* 78*b;* לְמִיפַּל B. B. 10*a;* לְמִיתַּן Sanh. 113*a.*

b) miqtil: מִינְסֵיב 'En Y. Sôtā 12*a.*

c) miqtâl or miqtul: לְמֵיחוֹת 'En Y. B. B. 73*b.*

d) miqtalâ: לְמִינְטְרָא *SM.* (No. xcv.), Gitt. 68*b.*

e) qutûl: נְדוֹר Ned. 21*b.*

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ÊL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§387. *a*) אַנְסֵיב *married*, Qidd. 71*a;* אַנְקֵיט M. MS. Ber. 7*a;* אַקֵּיף *surrounded*, Sanh. 69*a;* אַפֵּיק Ber. 39*a;* אַפֵּישׁ *he increased*, Men. 23*b;* אַסֵּיק Taan. 24*a;* אַחֵית Keth. 62*b;* אַפֵּיל *she miscarried*, Hull. 42*a.*

b) אַתַּר *broke off*, Macc. 8*a;* אַסַּח *removed*, Gitt. 53*b;* אַנְסַב *married*, Yeb. 121*a;* אַנְהַר *enlightened*, Sôtā 6*a;* by analogy with ל״י verbs, אַגַּעִי *touched*, Sanh. 33*b;* (אַדְּרָהּ *he forbade her by a vow*, Ned. 50*a*).

c) אַנְסוֹב C. MS. Pes. 110*b.*

3d sing. fem.—§388. אַפֵּיקָה B. M. 59*b;* אַפְּקָה Ned. 7*b;* אַפְּלָה Yeb. 65*b;*[1] אַחֵיתַת *she let flow*, 'En Ya'aq. 62*b;* (אַדַּרְתַּהּ *she forbade her by a vow*, Ned. 21*b*).

2d sing. masc.—§389. *a*) אַפֵּיקְתְּ Sabb. 151*b.*

b) אַפַּלְתְּ Yeb. 65*b;* אַקַּשְׁתְּ *didst compare*, Zeb. 5*b;* אַפַּשְׁתְּ *didst increase*, Ber. 5*b;* אַנְחַתְּתְּ *didst answer satisfactorily*, B. B. 129*a;* אַנְחַתְּ Hull. 137*b;* אַפַּקְתְּ *ibid.* 43*a.*

1st sing. com.—§390. אַפֵּיקִית Raši Ber. 38*a*, eds. אַפֵּיקֵת; אַפֵּלִית Yeb. 65*b;* אַסְחַאִי 'Er. 54*b*, 'En Y. *ibid.* אַסְחַתִּי.[2]

3d plur. masc.—§391. אַפִּיקוּ Ber. 38*a;* אַחִיתוּ M. Q. 25*b;* אַסִּיקוּ Ned. 25*a;* אַפְּקִי Yeb. 25*a*, by analogy with participle.[3]

2d plur. fem.—§392. אַסְחִיתוּ *ye remove*, Pes. 103*b.*

1st plur. com.—§393. אַזֵּיקְנָא Alf. B. Q. 47*a;* אַסְחַנָא M. MS. 'Er. 54*b;* אַחֲתִינַן Keth. 26*b;* אַקְפַן *I (we) give credit*, Hull. 48*a* (Raši different).

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§394. לַקֵּיף Sanh. 69*a;* נַפֵּיק B. M. 19*b;* לַפֵּישׁ Sanh. 52*a;* נַקֵּישׁ *compares*, Zeb. 49*b;* לִיקֵּישׁ 'Ar. 28*b;* נִיצֵּיל Sabb. 117*b;* (לוֹקְשֵׁיהּ *compares it*, Sabb. 83*a*).

[1] אַפֵּילָה *Še'ēl.* 18.

[2] אַחִיתִי, אַחוֹתִי, *HG.* 130; אַפִּילִי Alfâsi Yeb. 65*b.*

[3] אַסּוּקְ *HG.* ed pr. 89*c.*

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2d sing. masc.—§395. תַּפִּיק Qidd. 66*a*, R. H. 13*a*.

1st sing. com.—§396. אַפִּישׁ B. B. 12*b*; אַצִּיל *I rescue*, 'En Y. Sôtā 40*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§397. לִיזְקוּ *cause damage*, Sanh. 65*a*.[1]

2d plur. masc.—§398. תַּפִּיקוּ Sabb. 96*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§399. *a*) אַקֵּישׁ *compare*, Zeb. 5*b*; אַקֵּיף Beçā 25*b*; אַפֵּיק Macc. 22*a*; אַחֵית Sabb. 110*a*.

b) אַבַּע *let flow*, Taan. 25*b*.

Sing. fem.—§400. אַקְּפִי *cut the hair round*, B. M. 10*b*.

Plur. masc.—§401. אַפִּיקוּ Sanh. 7*b*; אַסִּיקוּ *bring up*, Bekh. 8*b*; אַחִיתוּן *place*, Ned. 50*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§402. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אַפּוֹשֵׁי Bêçā 7*a*; אַפּוֹלֵי Ḥull. 42*b*; אַסּוֹחֵי Zeb. 20*b*, Sabb. 18*b*; אַפּוֹקֵי Ned. 2*b*; אַצּוֹלֵי Sôtā 21*a*; אַקּוֹשֵׁי *to compare*, Zeb. 49*b*; אַנְסוֹבֵי Yeb. 120*a*; (לְאַנְקוֹטֵיהּ *to make him assume*, B. Q. 85*b*).

b) 'aqtilê: אַפִּיקֵי M. MS. Sabb. 101*b*; אַסִּיבֵי *ibid.* B. B. 166*b*.

c) 'aqtâlûie: לְאַקְשׁוּיֵי *to compare*, Ker. 25*b*, Zeb. 49*b*, by analogy with ל״י verbs.[2]

d) אוֹזוֹקֵי Ber. 35*b*, Gitt. 53*a*, by analogy with ע״ו verbs; לְאוֹקוֹפֵי *to give on credit*, A. Z. 63*b*.

e) maqtûlê: מַפּוֹלֵי Yeb. 35*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§403. *a*) מַנְקֵיט Pes. 110*a*; מַנְסֵיב Qidd. 69*a*, 71*b*; מַפֵּיק Macc. 2*b*; מַזֵּיק Ber. 35*b*; מַחֵית Qidd. 64*b*; מוֹשֵׁיף *blows*, Sabb. 119*a*, by analogy with ע״ו verbs.

b) מַבַּע Keth. 91*a*; מַסַּח Zeb. 20*b*.

c) מֵיפַק Pes. 11*b*, by analogy with ע״ע verbs.

Sing. fem.—§404. מַפְּלָה Yeb. 35*b*; מַפְּלָא Sanh. 109*a*; מַצְּלָא *saves*, Sôtā 21*a*; מַזְקָא B. B. 26*a*; מַצְּלָה Qidd. 8*b*.

Plur. masc.—§405. מַסְּבִי M. MS. B. B. 166*b*; מַזְקִי Yeb. 121*b*; מַפְּקִי Hôr. 8*a*; מַצְּלִין B. M. 93*b*; מַצִּילוּ Alfâsi, *ibid.*

Plur. fem.—§406. מַבְּעָן Sabb. 38*a*; מַסְּקָן R. H. 23*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§407. *Sing. masc.*: מָחַת Ned. 50*a*.—*Sing. fem.*: מְחָתָא *ibid.* 14*b*.—*Plur. fem.*: מְחָתָן Ned. 91*b*; B. B. 69*a*; מַקְשְׁיָין *compared*, Ker. 11*a*, by analogy with ל״י verbs.—*Plur. masc.*: מחתון Alf. Ned. 91*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§408.—*a*) מַפֵּיקְנָא Ber. 38*a*; מַצֵּילְנָא *I save*, Sanh. 109*b*; מַפְּקִינָא Ḥull. 132*b*; מַקֵּיפְנָא *I go around*, Meg. 29*a*.

[1] לְאִיזְהוּי *HG.* 454.

[2] לְאַפְקוּרֵי Alfâsi M. Q. 4*a*.

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b) מַנְסְבַת B. M. 105*a;* מִינְסְבַת Ned. 23*a* (f.); מַפְּקַת Pes. 113*b*, Šebu. 31*a;* מַפְּשַׁת Gitt. 3*a;* מַפְּחַת Bêçā 40*a*.

c) מַנְסְבִינַן Yeb. 120*a;* מַפְּשִׁינַן Bêçā 7*a;* מַפְּקִינַן *we bring up*, Sanh. 112*a;* מַפְּקִינַן, מַחֲתִינַן Nidd. 3*a;* מַצִּילִינַן *we save*, Sabb. 115*a;* מַפְּקִינָא Hull. 132*b*.

VERBS פ״א.

§409. The perfect and the participles of Qal are regular. To what extent initial א in the perfect had a full vowel instead of šᵉvâ cannot be inferred from the orthography. Çērê I find once in אֵימַר *he said*, Keth. 103*b*.[1]

In the imperfect and in the infinitive the א does not appear and the preformative has çērê.[2] This vowel could have arisen from short *i* or might be a contraction of *ai*, the א having been changed to י.

In the imperative Qal the א usually takes a full vowel. In the verb אזל *to go* it is usually omitted.

In the Paʿʿēl the א is usually syncopated in the participle, rarely in the imperfect.

In the Aphʿēl, verbs פ״א pass into verbs פ״י; but in some cases they retain their original form, the א quiescing in the preceding *a*-vowel and producing *â*.

In the reflexive stems the א is usually assimilated to the preceding ת, but sometimes retained. In a few cases of the Ithpᵉʿēl the ת is further assimilated to the second stem-consonant.

§410. The verbs אזל and אמר drop at times their final consonant in unlengthened forms.[3] This is especially the case with אמר, giving in the imperfect לֵימָא,[4] תֵּימָא, נֵימָא; in the imperative אֵימָא. In the participle active אָמֵינָא *I say* (§73).[5] From the last form must be distinguished אָמְרִינָא *they say*, occurring only once, in Gitt. 56*b*. The variants אָמְרִי and אִימְּנִי of editions are evidently 'erleichternde Lesarten.' The word is a compound of אָמְרֵי+אִנְּא (§115).

The apocopated forms of אמר in the imperfect are frequently found compounded with אִי *if*, giving the forms אִיתֵּימָא

[1] *Cf.* אֲמוּר *they said*, *Šeʾēl*. ed. pr. 26 (voc.); אִיתְמִיר, אִיתְמַרָא, *is said*, *TG*. ed. Harkavy, §69, *passim*; אֲמַר *he said*, *SM*. No. XXVI. (voc.).

[2] But *cf*. יֵאמַר M. MS. Ber. 28*a;* מֵאכְלִינְהוּ B. B. 81*b;* לֵאכְלֵיהּ Yôm. 75*b*.

[3] In *SM*. אזל drops its ל constantly.

[4] לימָא *SM*. No. LXXIII. (voc.).

[5] אָמֵנָא *HG*. 92, *passim*.

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(=אִי+תֵּימָא), אִילֵּימָא (=אִי+לֵימָא) and אִינֵּימָא (=אִי+נֵימָא). From אִיתֵּימָא *if thou say* must be distinguished אִיתֵּימָא *there is one who says*, which is a compound of אִיתַי *there is* and אָמָא *says* (§60, n. 1).

Verbs פ״א and ל״י, and the verb הֵימַן, are treated later on.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—§411. *3d sing. masc.*—*a*) לֵיכוֹל *eats*, Ber. 18*b*; נֵיזוֹל Sôt. 32*b*.

b) לֵיזֵיל C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.); נֵיזֵיל Ber. 27*b*.

c) לֵיזַל Ned. 8*a*; נֵיסַר *ties together*, Gitt. 69*a*.[1]

3d sing. fem.—*a*) תֵּיכוֹל Yeb. 70*a*.

b) תֵּיזֵיל Sanh. 77*b*, 78*a*.

c) תֵּיחַד ʿEr. 75*b*; תֵּיזַל Sôt. 12*a*.

2d sing. masc.—תֵּיכוֹל Ned. 91*b*, Macc. 19*b*; תֵּיפוֹךְ Pes. 21*a*.

2d sing. fem.—תֵּיזְלִי *thou goest*, Keth. 54*a*.[2]

1st sing. com.—*a*) אֵימוֹר Pes. 74*b*; אֵיכוֹל Ber. 24*b*; אֵיפוֹךְ Pes. 74*b*, Zeb. 28*a*.[3]

b) אֵיזֵיל B. Q. 108*a*, Yeb. 65*a*; אֵכֵיל Pes. 74*b*.

c) אֵימַר Sabb. 137*b*, Yômâ 81*b*.

3d plur. masc.—לֵימְרוּ B. M. 65*b*; נֵימְרוּ Gitt. 69*a*; נֵיכְלוּ M. Q. 9*a*; לֵיזְלוּ ʿAr. 22*a*.

2d plur. masc.—תֵּימְרוּן Ber. 45*b*, Sabb. 140*b*; תֵּיכְלוּן Sabb. 140*b*.

2d plur. fem.—תֵּיזְלָא Ker. 17*b* (§216).

1st plur. com.—*a*) נֵיכוֹל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*.

b) נֵיזֵיל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*; נֵפֵיךְ ʿAr. 29*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—§412. *Sing. masc.*: *a*) אֵימוֹר B. M. 14*b*, M. Q. 2*a*; אֵיפוֹךְ Sabb. 59*a*, Pes. 21*a*; אֵיכוֹל Gitt. 69*a*; (אוּכְלֵיהּ *eat it*, Sabb. 118*a*).

b) אֵיזֵיל Ned. 53*a*; זֵיל *ibid.* 22*b*, 25*a*; אֲגֵיר *hire*, B. M. 111*a*.

c) אֲכַל Ḥag. 15*b*; אֵימַר M. Q. 26*a*, ʿEr. 44*a*, Sabb. 157*a*.

Sing. fem.: *a*) זִילִי *go*, B. M. 42*b*, Ned. 66*b*, M. Q. 16*b*.

b) אֲכַלִי Ned. 77*b*; אֲמַרִי B. M. 84*b*.

Plur. masc.: *a*) אֲכִילוּ M. MS. Hôr. 12*a*; אֵיזִילוּ Bekh. 9*a*; זִילוּ Meg. 16*a*.[4]

b) אֲכַלוּ B. B. 21*b*; אֵימְרוּ *ibid.* 39*a*.

1 נֵימַר *says*, Ber. 28*a*, Pes. 9*a* and elsewhere in the phrase מַאי נֵימַר; נֵיכוֹל Qidd. 69*b*.

2 תֵּיזְלִין *HG.* 220.

3 אֵיזוֹל *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §§9, 28.

4 זִילוֹ *SM.* No. xxvi. (voc.).

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INFINITIVE.—§413. *a*) maqtal or miqtal: לְמֵימַר Ned. 9*b*, 10*a*;[1] מֵיכַל *ibid.* 4*b*, 49*b*, 73*a*; מֵיזַל *ibid.* 33*a*, Macc. 15*a*; לְמֵיגַר 'Er. 80*a*; מֵינַס Ned. 27*ab*.

b) maqtalâ or miqtalâ: לְמֵימְרָא Ned. 9*a*, 16*a*.[2]

c) qûtûlê: אֱמוֹרֵי Ned. 9*b*; אֵימוֹרֵי C. MS. Pes. 89*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR PA''ÊL.

§414. PERFECT.—אַדַּר *he distinguished*, Sanh. 63*b*.

IMPERFECT.—(אֲבַדֵּינְהוּ *I shall destroy them*, Gitt. 57*b*);[3] תְּאַשַּׁר *mayest believe*, *ibid.* 30*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—אַשַּׁר *believe thou*, Gitt. 30*b*.

INFINITIVE.—אַבּוֹדֵי B. M. 51*a*; אַחוֹרֵי B. Q. 74*a*, Ker. 20*a*; לְאַבּוֹלֵי R. MS. B. M. 59*b*; (לְאַחֲרוּהַ *to do it later*, Sabb. 119*a*).[4]

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מְאַחַר Ned. 4*a*, Ker. 20*a*; מְאַחְרִי B. Q. 74*a*; מְלַפְּי *they teach*, Keth. 62*a*; מְאַשְּׁרָן *they strengthen*, Gitt. 70*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מְכַּת *is seated in the saddle*, Nidd. 14*a*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—מְאַבֵּילְנָא B. M. 59*b*; מְאַלֵּימְנָא *I strengthen*, Qidd. 43*a*.—מְאַחְרִינָן Zeb. 86*b*; מְסַפְּקִינָן Šebu. 41*a*.[5]

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ÊL.

§415. PERFECT.—אוֹגֵיר *he hired*, B. M. 77*a*; אוֹרֵיךְ *he waited*, Meg. 16*a*; אוֹגַר 'Er. 75*b*; אֲגַר B. M. 65*a*.

IMPERFECT.—לוֹכֵיל Yeb. 68*a*; לוֹגַר 'Er. 66*a*.—תּוֹרֵיךְ 'Er. 54*a*.—תּוֹרְכוּ *ye will lengthen*, Ber. 8*a*, M. Q. 28*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—אוֹבֵיד *lose*, B. M. 51*a*; אוֹגֵיר 'Er. 80*a*; אוֹגַר B. M. 76*a*.[6]

INFINITIVE.—לְאוֹגוֹרֵי B. M. 116*a*; אוֹסוֹפֵי Bêçâ 23*b*; אוֹגֵירֵי 'Er. 75*b*; לְאוֹגְרֵי B. M. 101*b*; לְאוֹגַר *ibid.* 92*a*; לְאָכוֹלֵי Yeb. 68*a*; לְאַגוֹרֵי B. M. 79*ab*; (לְאַגוֹרָהּ *ibid.*).[7]

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מוֹגֵיר A. Z. 15*a*; מַאֲהֵיל 'Er. 31*a*; מַאֲרֵיךְ Sanh. 109*b*; מַאֲכֵיל Yeb. 68*a*; (מַאֲכֵילְנָא B. M. 85*b*; מַאפְלַתְּ *makest dark*, B. B. 7*a*; מוֹגְרַתְּ B. M. 6*a*; מוֹכְלִינָן Sanh. 20*a*); מָרְבוּ *they lie in wait*, A. Z. 39*b*.[8]

1 מֵימְרָא *HG.* 140.

2 In the phrase מֵאי לְמֵימְרָא the ending ־ָא seems to be the objective suffix of the 3d sing. fem.

3 *Cf.* Hebrew וָאַבֶּדְךָ Ezek. 28:16.

4 אַלְּפָא *Še'êl.* 1.

5 *Cf.* מְלַפְּךָ *teaches thee*, Yeb. 63*a*.

6 אוֹכוֹלֵיר *give thou him to eat*, *HG.* ed. pr. 31*a*.

7 לְאַגְרָא *HG.* ed. pr. 95*c*.

8 מוֹרֵיךְ, מוֹרְכִין, *give power of attorney*, *HG.* ed. pr. 88*d*.

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EXAMPLES FOR ITHPᴱʿEL.

PERFECT.—§416. *3d sing. masc.: a)* אִיתְּחִיד *was locked,* Ḥull. 52*b*.[1] *b)* אִיתְּרַע *happened,* M. Q. 18*a;* אִיתְּמַר B. Q. 32*a;* אִיתְּסַר Ned. 89*b,* אִיתְּנַח *sighed,* Meg. 16*a.*—*3d sing. fem.: a)* אִתְּנִיסָא Ned. 90*b,* Gitt. 56*a.* *b)* אִיתְּרְעָה Macc. 6*b;* אִיתְּרְעָא M. Q. 11*b;* אִיתְּסְרָא Pes. 103*b;* אִיתְּמְרָה Ber. 45*b.*—*2d sing. masc.:* אִיתְּגַרְתְּ *thou hast hired thyself out,* Yômâ 20*b,* M. MS. אִיגַּרְתָּא.—*1st sing. masc.:* אִתְּנְסִי Sabb. 145*b,* M. MS. אִיתְּנַיְיסִי (§80).—*3d plur. masc.: a)* אִיתְּנִיסוּ Keth. 16*b.* *b)* אִיתְּסְרוּ Ned. 79*b;* אִיתְּגְרוּן Šebu. 48*a.* *c)* אִיתְּפּוּךְ C. MS. M. Q. 25*b.*—*3d plur. fem.:* אִיתְּאַמְרָן ʿEr. 43*a.*

IMPERFECT.—§417. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לִיתְּאֲכִיל *is eaten,* Zeb. 55*a;* נִתְּאֲכִיל *ibid.* 56*a.* *b)* לִיתְּסַר Sabb. 60*a;* נִיתְּסַר Pes. 67*a;* לִיסַּר M. MS. Sanh. 55*a.*—*3d sing. fem.: a)* תִּיתְּכִיל Bekh. 16*a.* *b)* תִּיתְּסַר Ned. 80*b.*—*1st sing. com.:* אֶיתְּסַר Qidd. 65*a.*—*3d plur. masc.:* ליתגרוה (B. M. 112*b*), read: לִיתְּגְרוּ; לִיתְּסְרִי Men. 56*b.*—*3d plur. fem.:* לִיתְּסְרָן Ned. 79*b.*

INFINITIVE.—§418. *a)* 'ithqatûlê: אִיתְּסוּרֵי Nidd. 23*a;* אִיתְּגוּרֵי B. M. 76*b;* אִיתְּנוּסֵי R. H. 23*a;* אִתְּרוּסֵי Yeb. 43*b;* אִיתְּנוּחֵי M. MS. Ber. 59*a;* אִיתְּשׁוּדֵי R. MS. Pes. 65*a.*

b) 'ithqatûlâ: אִיתְּסוּרָא A. Z. 52*a;* לְאִיתְּגוּרָא Alf. B. M. 76*b.*

c) 'ithqatil: אִיתְּנַיִיס M. MS. Sabb. 145*b* (§80, *a*).

PARTICIPLE.—§419. *Sing. masc.: a)* מִיתְּאֲכִיל Qidd. 59*a;* מִיתְּכִיל Sabb. 109*a;* מִיתְּבִיד Pes. 5*b;* מִתְּשִׁיד O. MS. Pes. 65*a.*

b) מִיתְּסַר Sanh. 47*b;* מִתְּגַר B. M. 76*a;* מִיגַּר *ibid.;* מֵיחַד Meg. 16*a;* מִתְּשַׁד O. MS. Pes. 65*a.*

Sing. fem.: מִיתְּאַמְרָא Nâz. 50*b,* ʿAr. 15*b,* B. B. 39*a;* מִיתְּאַכְלָא Bekh. 16*a;* מִתְּסְרָא Sanh. 47*b,* Ned. 80*a,* 91*a;* מִתְּגְרָא B. M. 65*a.*[2]

Plur. masc.: מִיתְּאַכְלִי M. Q. 11*a;* מִיתְּכְלִי Bekh. 16*a;* מִיתְּגְרִי B. M. 76*a.*

Plur. fem.: מִיתְּאַכְלָן Bekh. 16*a.*

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPAʿʿAL.

§420. PERFECT.—אִיאַבִּיל *they mourned,* Gitt. 57*a.*

INFINITIVE.—אִיתְּאַבּוֹלֵי *to mourn,* B. Q. 59*b.*[3]

PARTICIPLE.—מִיתְּאַבִּיל *mournes,* Sabb. 136*a.*

1 אִיתְּנִיס *SM.* No. LXX. (voc.).

2 מִיסְּרָא *HG.* 293; מִישְׁתַּדְּרָא *HG.* ed. pr. 128*c*, passing into ע״ך.

3 לְאִיתְּאַחוּרֵי *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §321.

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VERBS ע״א.

§421. Verbs of this class retain the א in many cases of the Qal and of the Pa''ēl. In all other cases they generally pass into verbs ע״י.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

§422. PERFECT.—שייל *borrowed*, Taan. 21*b*; באיש, באש *he grew sick*, Ned. 40*a*.—שאילית Sabb. 130*b*, Bêçā 22*b*; שאילי B. Q. 40*a*; שאלית B. B. 36*b*; שאלי *I asked*, Taan. 23*b*.—שאילו *they asked*, Sabb. 152*b*; שאול *ibid.* 30*a*.—שאילתון B. M. 79*a*.—שאילנא Yeb. 116*a*; C. MS. Meg. 2*b*.[1]

IMPERFECT.—לישאלו Sôtā 35*a*, לישאילו 'En Y. *ibid.*[2]

IMPERATIVE.—שאיל Ber. 9*b*; שאול B. M. 83*b*.—שאילי Keth. 63*a*.—שאילו Me'īl. 17*b*.[3]

INFINITIVE.—למישאל Me'īl. 17*b*, M. Q. 18*a*; למישל C. MS. M. Q. *ibid.*; משאב Pes. 74*b*, מישב M. MS. *ibid.*; מימאס A. Z. 68*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—שאיב Pes. 74*b*; שייך Sanh. 64*a*; שייל Meg. 22*a*; כייב Gitt. 68*b*.—דאיגא Sabb. 156*b*.—שאלי Meg. 28*b*, שיילי M. MS. *ibid.*; שאיבי Pes. 74*b*; שייבי M. MS. *ibid.*; דיגו M. Q. 28*a*; דאיגי Sabb. 86*b*; דיגי M. MS. *ibid.*; כייבין Ned. 54*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מאיס Keth. 61*b*; מאיסא Sanh. 39*a*; מאיסתא Pes. 34*a*; מאיסי Yeb. 100*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR PA''ĒL.

§423. PERFECT. — שייל Taan. 21*b*; שייר *he left*, M. Q. 21*b*, Taan. 14*a*.—שיירית *I left over*, B. B. 61*b*.

IMPERFECT.—לשיילו Gitt. 56*a*.[4]

IMPERATIVE.—שיירו *leave ye*, Succā 36*a*.

INFINITIVE.—שיורי 'Ar. 16*a*, Sabb. 12*b*; שיולי Meg. 22*a*; שאולי H. MS. B. Q. 37*a*; שיילו A. Z. 27*b*, שיילי Rašī *ibid.*

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—משאיל Yeb. 76*b*; משייר B. B. 72*a*; (משיילנא *I ask*, Taan. 32*a*).—משיילא *loans*, Taan. 21*b*; משיירא Pes. 9*b*.—משיילי Taan. 21*b*; משאלי B. M. 27*b*, H. MS. B. Q. 37*a*; (משיירינן M. Q. 9*a*).[5]

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. — מסאב *unclean*, M. MS. A. Z. 39*b*; מסאבא Tem. 22*a*.

[1] שאילתא, שאילת, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §376.

[2] But this may also be Pa''ēl.

[3] שילו *HG.* 429.

[4] לימאון *HG.* ed. pr. 110*d*.

[5] מתיימא Alfāsī Succā 32*b*.

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EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

§424. אוֹשְׁלָה *she lent*, Gitt. 77*b*, 79*a*.—אוֹשְׁלַת M. MS. Taan. 29*a*.—לְאוֹשׁוּלֵי Keth. 105*b*.—מוֹשִׁיל A.Z. 15*a*; מְשִׁיל 'Ar. 24*a*; מוֹשְׁלֵי Gitt. 77*b*, Yeb. 120*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPᵉ'ĒL.

§425. PERFECT.—אִיתְּשִׁיל Ḥull. 52*b*, Keth. 77*b*; אִיתְּשַׁל 'En Y. Keth. *ibid.*—אִיתְּשְׁלֵי Ned. 65*a*, אִיתְּשִׁילִית 'En Y. *ibid.*[1]

IMPERFECT.—נִיתְּשִׁיל Ned. 90*a*.—לִימַּאֲסָן Yeb. 15*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—אִיתְּשִׁיל Sôtā 36*b*; אִיתְּשְׁלֵי *ibid.*

INFINITIVE.—אִיתְּשׁוּלֵי Ned. 59*a*, Yeb. 88*a*.[2]

PARTICIPLE.—מִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 59*a*, 'Er. 30*b*; מִמְּאִיס Ber. 50*b*, 51*a*; מִתְּשַׁל M. MS. 'Er. 30*b*; מִמְּיסָה, מִמְּיס Pes. 28*a*.—מִימַּאֲסִי Yeb. 15*a*; מִתְּשְׁלִין Ned. 65*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA''AL.

§426. PERFECT.—אִישְׁתַּיַּיר *he remained*, Sanh. 95*a*; אִשְׁתְּאַר Qidd. 12*b*.—אִישְׁתַּיְּירָא B. B. 36*a*.—אִישְׁתַּיַּירִי B. M. 84*a*.—אִישְׁתַּיּוּר Sabb. 43*a*.[3]

IMPERFECT.—נִשְׁתַּיַּיר Nidd. 42*a*.—נִישְׁתַּיְּירוּ Sabb. 60*b*.

VERBS פ״י.

§427. The only verb which retains initial ו is ווס *to stain*, all other פ״ו verbs became פ״י in the Qal.[4] The initial י was probably pronounced as a consonant. These verbs present the following peculiarities:

In Qal: יתב *to sit*, drops its י in the imperative; יהב *to give*, does it sometimes also in the perfect.[5]

In Aph'ēl: ימן *to go to the right*, has in a variant the form אַיְמֵין; all other verbs pass into פ״ו stems. A few forms assimilate their י by analogy of פ״ן verbs.

In Ithpᵉ'el: Some forms of יצר and ילד pass into ע״ו stems. יתב is sometimes contracted to אִיתֵּיב.

In Ithpa''al: Some forms are contracted. For verbs פ״י and ל״י see further below.

[1] אִישְׁתְּאִילַת *HG.* ed. pr. 84*b*.

[2] לְאִישְׁתּוּלֵי *HG.* ed. pr. 75*b*; אִישְׁאוּלֵי *HG.* 400.

[3] אִשְׁתַּיַּירָאן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §376.

[4] According to Praetorius in Nestle's *Syriac Grammar*, remark *ad* §40*a* (p. xi), the פ״י verbs are the older and the פ״ו in Syriac and in Arabic a later production.

[5] Of the three synonymous verbs יהב, נתן, יתב, the first is never used in the imperfect, the two last never in the perfect, or in the participle.

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EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§428. *3d sing. masc.: a)* יְכֵיל M. Q. 28*a*, Macc. 10*a;* יְבֵישׁ *was withered*, Gitt. 69*b;* יְזֵיף *borrowed*, 'Er. 63*b;* יְהֵיב *gave*, Ned. 50*ab*, 62*b;* יְתֵיב *he sat*, Bêçâ 20*a*.

b) יְדַע Ned. 50*b*, Macc. 6*b;* יְהַב Ned. 50*b*, Ber. 58*a;* הַב MSS. Ber. 58*a*.

3d sing. fem.: a) יְלֵידָא Macc. 17*b;* יְהֵיבָה Qidd. 60*a*.[1]

b) יְדַעַת, יְלַדַת, Ned. 50*b;* יְרַקַת Yeb. 39*b;* יְהָבָה Ned. 43*b;* יְתַבָה V. L. Sanh. 109*b*.

2d sing. masc.: יְהַבְתְּ Sanh. 109*a*, Ber. 56*a;* יְחַפְתְּ Šebu. 37*a*.

2d sing. fem.: יְהַבִית Keth. 85*a*.

1st sing. com.: a) יְכֵילִית B. B. 73*b;* יְכֵילִי *ibid.* 26*a*, Sanh. 49*a*.

b) יְהַבִית A.Z. 10*b*, Sabb. 105*b;* יְלַפִית Tām. 32*a;* יְלַפִי Šebu. 37*a;* יְדַעִי Qidd. 40*a*.

3d plur. masc.: a) יְתֵיבוּ Keth. 62*b;* יְבִישׁוּ B.M. 74*a;* יְתִיבִי 'En. Y. Yômâ 69*b*.

b) יְהַבוּ Macc. 10*a;* יְרַתוּ B.B. 118*b;* הַבוּ Ḥull. 50*a*.[2]

c) יְתוּב *they sat*, M. MS. Sabb. 49*a*.

1st plur. com.: a) יְהֵיבְנָן B.B. 73*b;* יְכֵילְנָן H. MS. *ibid.*

b) יְהַבְנָן, הַבְנָן, *ibid.;* יְהַבְנָא B.M. 5*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§429. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לֵיזוֹף Taan. 12*b;* לֵיתוֹב Ḥull. 135*a*, M.Q. 9*b*, A.Z. 28*b*.

b) לֵיתֵיב A.Z. 28*b*, Pes. 86*a;* נֵיתֵיב Sabb. 119*a;* נֵיזֵיף Qidd. 20*a*.

c) לֵיתַב 'Ar. 30*b*, Nidd. 65*a;* לֵילַךְ Yeb. 17*b;* נִידַע Ker. 5*b;* נידע *ibid.*, read נֵידַע.

3d sing. fem.: a) תֵּילוֹד Macc. 17*b;* תֵּיחוֹד *closes*, Gitt. 77*b;* תֵּידוֹת Sabb. 116*b*.

b) תֵּילֵיד Macc. 17*b*.

c) תֵּידַע Qidd. 80*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תֵּתֵיב 'Er. 54*a;* תֵּיתֵי[ב] Macc. 3*b*.[3]

1st sing. com.: אֵיתֵיב *I give*, Bekh. 44*b*, Sanh. 98*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לֵיתְבוּן 'Er. 53*b;* לֵיתְבוּ B.B. 8*a;* נֵיתְבוּ *ibid.* 143*a*, Taan. 25*b;* לֵירְתוּ B. B. 159*b;* לֵילְפוּ M. MS. Er. 2*b*, 54*a;* לֵילְפִי Yeb. 61*b;* לֵידְעוּ Taan. 22*a*.

3d plur. fem.: לֵילְפָן Sabb. 65*b*.

[1] יְרֵיתַת *HG.* ed. pr. 105*d;* יְלֵידַת *ibid.* 108*b*.

[2] אֲהַבוּ *they gave*, *SM.* Nos. xciv., cxvi.

[3] תְּהַב *SM.* No. ccxiii.

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2d plur. masc.: תֵּירְתוּן Yômâ 72*b;* תֵּיתְבוּ B.B. 40*b.*[1]

1st plur. com.: נֵילֵיק Ber. 62*b;* נֵיתְבֵי Taan. 25*a* (§233).

IMPERATIVE.—§430. *Sing. masc.:* הַב Ber. 5*b*, Pes. 74*b;* תִּיב Ḥag. 5*b*, Yôm. 74*b.*

Plur. masc.: הַבוּ Sanh. 109*a;* הַבִי M. MS. *ibid.* 109*b;* תִּיבוּ Hôr. 12*a.*[2] (With suffixes יַהֲבַהּ *give her*, Sanh. 109*b;* יַהֲבוּהוּ *give ye him*, Gitt. 57*b*).

INFINITIVE.—§431. *a*) miqtal: מִידַּע Hôr. 12*a*, Ned. 88*a*, Macc. 6*b;* מִידַע C. MS. Pes. (voc.);[3] מֵיהַב Ber. 9*b;* מֵיתַב B. M. 63*b;* מֵינַק Ned. 55*b;* לְמֵיבַשׁ *to dry*, B. M. 74*a.*

b) miqtalâ: מֵיהֲבָה Qidd. 9*a;* מֵיתְבָא *ibid.* 106*b;* לְמֵיזְפָא B. M. 17*a.*

c) miqtalê: מֵינְקֵי Ber. 40*b;* מִידְעֵי B. M. 92*b.*

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§432. *Sing. masc.:* יָדַע Ned. 8*a;* יָהֵיב *ibid.* 15*a;* יָלֵיק *ibid.* 22*a;* יָתֵיב *ibid.* 29*b.*[4]

Sing. fem.: יָדְעָה Ned. 91*a;* יָדְעָא *ibid.* 63*b;* יָתְבָא B. B. 73*b.*

Plur. masc.: יָתְבִי Ber. 9*b*, Ned. 29*b;* יָנְקִי Ned. 55*b;* יָדְעִי *ibid.* 62*b.*[5]

Plur. fem.: יָתְבָן Pes. 111*a.*

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§433. *Sing. masc.:* יְדִיעַ Ned. 55*a*, Ber. 48*a;* יְקִיד Sanh. 33*b;* יְלוּד M. MS. A. Z. 10*b.*

Sing. fem.: יְהִיבָה Sabb. 105*b;* יְהִיבָא Sanh. 107*a.*

Plur. masc.: יְהִירִין Meg. 14*b;* יְהִירָאִין M.MS. *ibid.* (nominal ending).

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§434. *3d sing. masc.:* אוֹדֵיק B.M. 60*b*, 63*b;* אוֹתֵיב *he placed*, M. Q. 25*a;* אוֹלֵיד Sanh. 69*a;* אוֹמֵן *turned to the right*, Yômâ 72*b*, O. MS. Sabb. 88*b*, M. MS. *ibid.* אַיְמֵין; אוֹדֵיק *looked*, Ḥull. 95*b.*

3d sing. fem.: אוֹתְבָה Keth. 60*a*, Sanh. 109*b;* אוֹתֵיבָא A. Z. 17*b;* אוֹלֵידָה B. B. 133*b;* אוֹלֵידַת 'En Y. Ned. 50*a.*

2d sing. masc.: אוֹזְפַתְּ B.B. 164*b*, Sabb. 66*b;* אוֹדַעְתְּ Ḥull. 58*b.*

2d sing. fem.: אוֹזְפִית M. MS. Sabb. 66*b.*

1st sing. com.: אוֹתֵיבִי *I placed*, Bêçâ 16*b.*

[1] תֵּירְתִיבוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 101*d.*

[2] Here we find לָאתְיבוּ, the imperative with a negative.

[3] לְמֵינְדַע Alfasi Sanh. Pereq iv.

[4] יָכוֹל *Igg. Šerirâ* 24; יָאתֵיב *SM.* No. v. *a* (voc.).

[5] יָהֲבִינוּ *we give*, *MV.* 85.

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3d plur. masc.: אוֹתִיבוּ *sat*, Yômâ 69*b;* אִיתִיבֵי *placed*, Qidd. 8*b*, Bêçā 6*a*.

3d plur. fem.: אוֹקְדָן *set on fire*, Sanh. 93*a*.

2d plur. masc.: אוֹתֵבְתּוּן O. MS. Pes. 87*b;* ʽEn Y. *ibid.* אוֹתֵבִיתוּן.[1]

IMPERFECT.—§435. *3d sing. masc.:* לוֹסִיף R.H. 17*b;* נוֹדִיק ʽAr. 30*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תּוֹסִיף Pes. 114*a*.

2d sing. fem.: תּוֹתִיב Alfâsī Yeb. 85*a*.

1st sing. com.: אוֹלִיד B.B. 91*a;* אוֹתִיר Sabb. 67*a*.

3d plur. masc.: (לִתַבוּהָ *let them place her*, Sabb. 110*a*).

IMPERATIVE.—§436. *2d sing. masc.:* אוֹלִיד *beget*, B.B. 91*a;* אַתֵּיב *put down*, Sabb. 77*b*.

2d plur. masc.: אוֹקִירוּ *honor ye*, B.M. 57*a;* אוֹבִילוּ *bring ye*, Gitt. 67*b*,

INFINITIVE.—§437. אוֹדוֹעֵי Sanh. 89*b;* אוֹרוֹתֵי *to will*, B.B. 131*a;* אוֹלוֹדֵי Bêçā 23*a;* אוֹתוֹבֵי *to place*, M.Q. 25*a;* לְאִיתוֹבֵי O.MS. Pes. 87*b;* אוֹסִיפֵי A.Z. 30*a;* (לְאוֹתֵיבָךְ Gitt. 57*b*); אַסּוּפֵי Keth. 64*a;* אַפּוּקֵי A.Z. 26*a;* לְאוֹדוֹעָךְ B. M. 42*b;* אוֹסְפֵי ʽEr. 5*b*, by analogy with ע״ע.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§438. *Sing. masc.:* מוֹסִיף ʽEr. 5*b;* מוֹלִיד Bêçā 23*a;* מוֹבִיל Sanh. 95*a;* מוֹדַע M.Q. 21*b;* מוֹקַר and מוֹקִיר *he honors*, Sabb. 119*a;* מוֹכַח Gitt. 57*b*, M. MS. Sanh. 96*b;* מוֹסַף Keth. 64*a;* (מוֹבֵילְנָא *I carry*, ʽEr. 27*b;* מוֹבַלְנָא B.M. 41*a*).

Sing. fem.: מוֹקְרָא M. MS. Ber. 48*a*.

Plur. masc.: מוֹבְלִין Succā 53*a* (Palest.); מוֹדְעִי Sanh. 89*a;* מוֹדְעוּ Yômâ 18*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—§439. מוֹסְפָא ʽAr. 30*b;* but this may be the Hophʽal as מוֹכְחָא.

[1] אוֹדַעְנָא *we informed*, *TG*. ed. Harkavy, §439; אוֹלִידְנָא Alfâsī, Yeb. 65*a*.

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ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.[1]

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II.

It was my intention to review Professor Delitzsch's most excellent *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* in this number of *AJSL*. This intention will be carried out in the next number of this Journal. The following notes are based on Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* = *HWB.*, and my *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum* (Volumes I.–IV.) = *LK.*

There are several interesting words in the Letter, Bu. 89–4–26, 161, *LK.* 435, a transliteration of which follows:

[435.] Bu. 89–4–26, 161.

OBVERSE.

An-ni-u ri-iḫ-ti
da-ba-a-bi ša e-gir-ti
3. pa-ni-it-ti.
Šar-ru-u-ut ša šarri be-ili-ịa
ki-ma mê u šamnê
6. e-li nišê mâtâti
ka-li-ši-na li-it-bi
ri-'-us-si-na šarru be-ili
9. li-e-pu-uš a-na du-u-ri
da-a-ri. A-na-ku ka-al-bu
ka-rib šarri be-li-šu.
12. An-nu-u-ti ik-ri-bi
a-na šarri be-ili-ịa ak-tar-ba.
Ilâni ša šum-šu-nu az-ku-ru
15. li-iḫ-ḫu-ru liš-mi-u
a-na šarri be-ili-ịa
ik-ri-bi an-nu-u-ti
18. a-du li-'-mi-šu
li-iṣ-ṣi-pu a-na šarri bêli-ịa
li-id-di-nu

[1] *Cf.* Hebraica, Vol. X., Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 196–201.

REVERSE.

u a-na-ku ka-ri-ib
šarri be-ili-ia i-na pa-an
3. šarri be-ili-ia la-zi-iz-ma
ina gu-mur-ti lib-bi-ia
ina a-ḫi-ia la-ap-laḫ
6. ki-ma a-ḫi-ia e-ta-an-ḫa
ina ki-ṣir am-ma-ti-ia
e-mu-ḳi-ia lu-gam-mir
9. man-nu bêl ṭâbti la i-ra-am
ina za-ma-a-ri ša [mât] Ak-ka-di-i
ma-a aš-šu pi-i-ka ṭâb
12. ri-'-u-a
gab-bu um-ma-a-ni
u-pa-ḳu-ka

The obverse may be translated as follows:

This is the rest (*résumé*, copy) of the contents of a former letter May the dominion of the king, my lord, sweep over the peoples of all countries like water and oil! May the king, my lord, rule over them for all time. I am a dog, the suppliant of the king, his lord. I make these prayers for the king, my lord. May the gods, whose names I invoke, accept and listen (answer them)! May they doubly grant these prayers to the king, my lord, as well as to his family!

The exact meaning of riḫti is doubtful. It may have the meaning *rest*, *remainder*, or perhaps *continuation*. The introduction (4–11) is quite unusual. Liḫḫuru has here the meaning of limḫuru, *annehmen*, *gnädig aufnehmen*. In Vol. X., p. 197, I cited several passages in which *aḫâru is used without a technical, astronomical meaning. Delitzsch gives the II. 1 form only. Here we have the I. 1 Precative; *cf.* also *LK.* 185, K. 1396, 12. This passage is the most convincing, making *aḫâru synonymous with šemû and equivalent to maḫâru. The expression ikribê annûti . . . . . liṣṣipu is also quite unusual. Liṣṣipu is from eṣêpu √יצף with the meaning *mehren*, *doppeln*. In gumurti (rv. 4) we have a new form. *Cf.* also lugammir (rv. 8) and X., 200. So far as I know, kiṣir ammati has not been found in a connected text. *Cf.* *HWB.* 84*b* under II. ammatu. Perhaps the passage may be translated: With the strength (resources) of my land may I bring my forces into a state of perfection!

In X., 197, I cited a single passage (K. 595, *LK.* 6, rv. 3) where the verbal form lu-par-ši-im √פרשם, from which

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paršumu, puršumu, etc., are derived, is found, *viz.:* ilâni rabûti ša šamê irṣitim ana balâṭ napšâti ša šarri bêli̯a nu-ṣa-al-la šarru bêli ana mâr mârâni lu-par-ši-im. *Cf.* now Rm. 76, rv. 8–9, *LK.* 358: ina libbi da-ru-te ša šarri be-ili-i̯a šarru be-ili ip-par-ši-man-ni and rv. 14: šarru be-ili mâr mârâni lu-par-ši-im.

There are several other interesting words and passages in this Letter. In obv. 8, we have a scribal error, a-bu-te for a-ši-bu-te. The introduction is long and unusual. *Cf.* ll. 10–14: ṭu-ub lib-bi ṭu-ub šêrê ûmê rûḳûti še-bi-e li-tu-ti pa-li-e ša nu-uḫ-ši a-na šarri be-ili-i̯a li-di-nu. Šumu u zêru pir-ḫi lil-li-du a-na šarri be-ili-i̯a li-ib-šu šur-šu-ka li-iš-mu-ḫu li-rap-pi-šu . . . . li; *cf.* also obv. 19. *Cf.* also rv. 1–3: da-ab-tu di-ik-tu a-na li-ip-li-pi ša šarri be-ili-i̯a a-du šamê irṣitim da-ru-u-ni li-pu-šu and rv. 20, 21: adu (EN) šamê irṣitim da-ru-u-ni, etc.

The passage, 82–5–22, 169, rv. 9, *LK.* 353, ina mât ^{amêl} rab-ša-ki-e settles for all time the reading of ^{amêl} ràb-SAG = rab-šaḳê = רַב־שָׁקֵה.

There are some interesting glosses — and glosses are of very rare occurrence in the Letters — in 81–2–4, 63, *LK.* 405. *Cf.* obv. 9–11: ûmu zi-mu-šu ki-ma ḳu-ut-ri ina pân ša-at-ti Rammân ra-giš. This gloss argues for the reading pân šatti, Senn. V. 43. *Cf.* also 83–1–18, 14, *LK.* 406, obv. 10 and rv. 17. The following is a transliteration of this letter:

OBVERSE.—A-na šarri bêli-i̯a [2]ardu-ka Nabû-aḫê-erba [3]lu šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-i̯a [4]Nabû Marduk a-na šarri [5]bêli-i̯a lik-ru-bu. [6]Ina muḫḫi e-pa-še [7]ša ḳa-ri-e-ti [8]ša šarru be-ili iš-pur-an-ni [9]pa-ar-ṣi il-ki [11]ina arḫi an-ni-e ṭa-bu [12]ṭa-ba ḳa-ri-tu [13]ana e-pa-še [14]ûmu XIII. ûmu XV. [15]ûmu XVII. li-pu-šu. [16]Ina muḫḫi niḳê [17]ša šarru be-ili (REVERSE) [1]iš-pur-an-ni [2]ina arḫi an-ni-e [3]ṭa-ba a-na e-pa-a-ši [4]ina ši-a-ri ina li-di-iš [5]am-ma-te ina pân šarri [6]bêli̯a ma-ḫi-ir-u-ni [7]li-pu-šu. [8]Ina muḫḫi Ašur-mukîn-palêi̯a [9]ša šarru be-ili iš-pur-an-ni [10]lil-li-ka ṭa-ba [11]a-na a-la-ki. [12]Mâr mârâni-šu [13]mar mar-i-šu [14]šarru be-ili ina p(b)ur-ki-šu [15]li-in-tu-uḫ. [16]Ina ši-id-di ḫu-u-li [18]lu id-ku [19]li-e-mur-ru-uš.

Two important forms are found in Bu. 91–5–9, 183, rv. 2–4, *LK.* 340, *viz.:* sil(l)âte, plur. of sillatu, and têkîti; ma-a mârâni Bâbilu ina ^{mât} Ba-ni iṣ-ṣi-e-u-ni si-il-a-te-

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ši-na ina te-ki-i-ti ša a-na * * * iḳ-bu-u-ni. The form si-il-a-te decides for a sing. sillatu not šillatu. I am inclined to take têkîti as a form with prefixed ת; *cf.* *HWB.* 705, *a.*

The plur. of ṣillu is found in K. 660, obv. 15, *LK.* 86, ṣi-il-la-a-te.[1]

82–5–22, 174, *LK.* 341, is a very interesting little medical tablet. The following is a transliteration—omitting lines 1–7 of the introduction:

[8]u-ma-a amtu ša šarri [9]Ba-u-ga-mi-lat [10]mar-ṣa-at a-dan-niš la šubat(?)-sa pi-ta-tan [11]u-ma-a šarru be-ili [12]ṭe-mi liš-kun [13]amêl (A. ZU) asû ešten, (Reverse) [1]lil-li-ka [2]li-mur-ši = The king's maid-servant, Ba'u-gâmilat is very ill. Her bowels(?) are out of order. May the king, my lord, give an order that a physician come at once and examine her.

83–1–18, 37, *LK.* 355, furnishes better material for a discussion of pišru than that found in *HWB.* 550, *a.* *Cf.* obv. 6 for pi-iš-ri, rv. 4 for pi-ši-ir-šu and obv. 13 and rv. 1 for pi-iš-ra-a-te and pi-iš-ra-te-šu-nu. *Cf.* also obv. 10 and rv. 3 for i-gal-lil.

81–2–4, 55, *LK.* 381, contains a peculiarity worth noticing. A transliteration of this Letter follows:

Obverse.—[1]A-na šarri bêlii̯a [2]ardu-ka Ašur-ri-ṣu-u-a [3]lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bêli-i̯a [4]mât Man-a-a i-na libbi alâni [5]ša mât Akkad-a-a [6]i-na-gi-e ša šid-di [7]ti-amat i-zu-ḳu-pu [8]i-ti-ši e-te-li. [9]A-na-lu-ḳu-nu amêl paḫâtu [10]ša al Mu-ṣa-ṣi-ri [11]Tu-un-na-un amêl paḫâtu [12]ša al Kar-si-tu.... (Reverse) [1]i-na muḫḫi ta-ḫu-me [2]ša mât Man-a-a i-tal-ku [3]a-na ma-ṣar-te [4]mât Akkad-a-a [5]i-na al Tu-ru-uš-pa-a šu-u [6]niḳê-šu e-pa-aš [7]amêl paḫâtu *pl.* gab-bu [8]i-pa-ni-šu šu-nu.

Cf. obv. 6, where we have i-na-gi-e for i-na na-gi-e and rv. 8 i-pa-ni-šu for i-na pa-ni-šu.

[1] In X. 198, the feminine sign before imêru was not noticed. The reading is, of course, atânâte instead of imêrâte.

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Contributed Notes.

THE MASSORETIC USE OF THE ARTICLE AS A RELATIVE.

It seems to be certain that in later Hebrew, such as Chronicles and Ezra, the article was used as a relative; see Ewald, *Lehrbuch* (1870), §331, *b;* Gesenius, §109, *Rem.;* Driver, *Notes to the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, pp. 57 *sq.;* Müller-Robertson, §92, *Rem. a;* Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, §22, *Rem.* 4. Further, in earlier Hebrew a number of forms appear in which the article is so used, but in these, the difference being mostly in the vowels or the fall of the accent, we are told that we have the work of the Massoretic editors. That is probably true, but one of the arguments has been "the fact that the Massorah itself does not point consistently," as Driver puts it, or "dass die Massôra hier auch selbst schwankte," as Ewald; see, too, the *Rem.* in Müller-Robertson. Ewald quotes 1 Kgs. 11:9, הנראה, compared with Gen. 12:7, הנראה, as a case of such inconsistency and Driver adds Gen. 46:26, הבאה, as compared with v. 27, הבאה. The object of the present note is to suggest that perhaps the Massoretic editors may have involved a meaning of their own in these variations and not simply vacillated in their usage. In Ruth there is a somewhat similar case from which I prefer to begin. In 1:22; 2:6; 4:3 Ruth is referred to as השבה, but in 4:11 as הבאה. Why is this difference? The context requires us to translate the first *she who had returned*, an absolute past, but the second *she who is entering* or *about to enter*, a present or future,—the words are spoken by the elders in their blessing of Ruth as the wife to be of Boaz.

Does, then, this distinction of past and present hold when applied to the other cases? In 1 Kgs. 11:9 we are told that Yahwé was angry with Solomon because he had fallen away from Him who had appeared to him twice, הנראה אליו פעמים. Here the reference is distinctly to the past; God *had* appeared to him but no longer did so—such manifestations were now over and done. Did not the Massoretic editors mean by this anomalous punctuation to draw attention to this *past* manifestation by God of Himself to Solomon? Opposed to this is Gen. 12:7, where Yahwé appears to Abram and Abram builds an altar to Yahwé who appeared to him, הנראה אליו. Yahwé had appeared to him before this and He appeared also after this; it is almost as though we were to translate *who was appearing* or *who was wont to appear to him.*

The last case is more difficult. In Gen. 46:8–27 we have a list of the whole family of Jacob which entered Egypt, summing up the number as seventy. In v. 26 we are told that all הבאה (participle) Egypt with the exception of the wives of Jacob's sons were sixty-six. Then in v. 27,

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"And the sons of Joseph which were born to him in Egypt were two; all the souls belonging to the house of Jacob הַבָּאָה (perfect) Egypt were seventy." It is hardly conceivable to me that here we can have simple vacillation; the two words come far too closely together. May not the following two points of meaning underlie this difference? First, הַבָּאָה in v. 26 views the entering Egypt as an event in process—*who were entering*, but the הַבָּאָה in v. 27 as an event completed,—*who entered* or *had entered;* v. 27 finally closes the statement and regards the journey as over. Secondly, Joseph and his two sons were *in* Egypt; they had had no part in this. Thus they could not be spoken of as *entering* Egypt now. The most that could be said was that they in a sense, as members of the family of Jacob, *had* entered Egypt—and that is what is said.

Do all the other cases of "inconsistency" admit of this explanation?

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בעבר הירדן

The בעבר הירדן of the original text of the Old Testament is uniformly represented in the English Revised Version by "Beyond Jordan." (In the so-called Authorized Version we find no less than four different renderings—"Beyond Jordan," "On this side Jordan," "On the other side Jordan," and "On the side of Jordan.") What is the precise meaning of the Hebrew phrase? Does it necessarily call up in the mind a picture of the river Jordan flowing between the territory referred to and the speaker? Is it true, as has been asserted, that the parts of the Pentateuch in which it occurs were "evidently written by one who was *this side* Jordan, and therefore written after the death of Moses, and after the taking possession of the land of Canaan by the Israelites," and that "Moses, or any other author in his age, certainly could not have expressed himself in this way so long as he himself was on the eastern bank"? (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. xlii, xliii, says, "The use of the phrase . . . for the country *east* of Jordan in Deut. 1:1, 5; 3:8; 4:41, 46, 47 . . . shows that the author [of Deuteronomy] was a resident in *Western* Palestine.")

An examination of the passages in which the words are used will give a decisive answer to these questions. We will confine ourselves to Deuteronomy and Joshua, it not being necessary to take into consideration the solitary pair of instances found in the preceding books (Gen. 50:10, 11) nor to pass into the later literature.

Within the limits stated בעבר הירדן is found twenty-two times. (We take no account of somewhat similar expressions.) It points to (1) the *east* side of the Jordan while the speaker is, or is represented to be, on the *east* side in Deut. 3:8; Josh. 1:14, 15, and, if we admit the claims of Mosaic authorship, in Deut. 1:1, 5; 4:41, 46, 47; (2) the *west* side with the speaker on the *east* side in Deut. 3:20, 25; 11:30; (3) the *east* side

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with the speaker on the *west* side in Josh. 2:10; 7:7; 9:10; 12:1; 13:8; 22:4; 24:8; and (4) the *west* side with the speaker on the *west* side in Josh. 5:1; 9:1; 12:7 and 22:7 k'ri. In the first of the Deuteronomic addresses attributed to Moses the author in a single chapter uses the phrase to indicate the eastern side (Deut. 3:8) and the western side (vs. 20 and 25), and in the second address Gerizim and Ebal are located בעבר הירדן (Deut. 11:29, 30). Not only when dismissing the two and a half tribes to whom had been assigned the east Jordanic conquests did Joshua refer to the land of their possession as "beyond Jordan" (Josh. 22:4), but also before he had ever crossed the river he twice spoke of their property as בעבר הירדן (Josh. 1:14, 15). Passages in the Book of Joshua evidently written on the west side of the stream, and some of them at least several years after the crossing, refer to the west side as בעבר הירדן.

There is only one rational explanation of these facts. At the time when the records which we are examining were composed בעבר הַירדן was not limited to a region *beyond* the river from the speaker, nor had it become the technical geographical term for the territory east of the Jordan. It could be employed of land on either side of the river, and the person using it might be on the same side as was the district he had in mind or on the other. It is evident that back of the phenomena noticed must be such an intrinsic latitude of meaning and not the carelessness of a writer who attempted to antedate his production. The authors of Deuteronomy and Joshua were not imbeciles—their writings prove that, whoever they were—and they could not have been guilty of such bungling work as would have to be attributed to them, if in the common speech of their day בעבר הירדן involved the idea of the English word "beyond."

The result already reached is confirmed by a further examination of the passages in question. We find that in every instance the particular application of the phrase is indicated by some means outside of itself. Of the fifteen places referring to territory on the east side, "toward the sunrising" (מזרחה שמש, מזרח שמש, מזרח השמש and מזרחה השמש respectively) is added in four (Deut. 4:41, 47; Josh. 1:15; 12:1), "eastward" (מזרחה) in one (Josh. 13:8), and geographical data in at least half a dozen others, while in the few that remain historical references leave no doubt as to the region intended. In the case of the seven passages where the west side is pointed to, the fact is shown in Josh. 5:1; 12:7 and 22:7 by the addition of "westward" (ימה), in Deut. 11:30 by "behind the way of the going down of the sun" (אחרי דרך מבוא השמש) in Josh. 9:1 geographically and in Deut. 3:20 and 25 by the immediate context. The authors appear to have taken pains to prevent all ambiguity.

Thus we see that בעבר הירדן means simply "in the Jordan district" or "in the region through which the Jordan crosses"—"on the side of Jordan" King James' Version renders it in Josh. 5:1—without limitation to either the right or the left bank, and not *per se* that territory

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which can be reached only by crossing the Jordan. There is no evidence of a contrasting of the two sides such as would of itself imply the residence of the writers in Palestine (*cf.* Driver, *op. cit.*, p. xliii). The children of Israel had long been dwelling in a land of which it has been said that the Nile is Egypt. There a single stream flowed the whole length of the country and imparted fertility to a strip along either side. Its peculiarities and its relation to the very existence of the nation gave it prominence. It is therefore a very natural thing to find the whole of the Israelites' new possessions spoken of at the time of the entrance into Canaan as the region of another river, עבר הירדן.

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JEREMIAH 5:8.

In Jeremiah 5:8 we read:

סוסים מוזנים משכים היו. איש אל אשת רעהו יצהלו.

For מוזנים the *K^e^rī* has מיזנים. The Authorized and the Revised Versions translate: "They were as fed horses in the morning; every one neighed after his neighbor's wife."

As to מוזנים, the *K^e^rī* (and the Eastern *K^e^thīb*) מיזנים indicates that the derivation from זון is not after the sense of the Massoretes, who obviously have in mind a verb יזן of which both forms muzanim and m'yuzzanim can be derived, the former being participle Hoph'al, the latter, participle Pu'al. This, however, forms no practical difference, since the verba *Ayin Vav* and *Pe Yod* interchange (as יעץ and עוץ). The Talmudic זון means "to provide, supply," especially with the necessaries of life; in the Pi'el its meaning has a wider scope: "to outfit, decorate"; "to gird, arm, equip"; and זין means "armor, steel." The root יזן is found in Talmudic literature only twice (to my knowledge). In Pesikta Rabbathi, ch. 27–28 (p. 133*b*, ed. Friedman), we read: "and they [the girls of Jerusalem] neighed after them [the young men], like susim m'yuzzanim, as we read (Jer. 5:8)," etc. This passage, of course, throws no light on the meaning of our word, as it is merely borrowed from Jeremiah. But in Babli Giṭṭin, p. 67*a*, we are told that Isi ben Judah, in characterizing various Tannaim, called Rabbi Jishmael חנות מיזנת *a well-assorted shop* (*store*), or, as Arukh has it, "a shop decorated with all kinds of goods." There is a variant recorded מזוינת (from זון) which allows of the same interpretation. Applying this meaning of זון or יזן to horses, and keeping in mind that זין is "armor," there is no difficulty in rendering susim muzanim or m'yuzzanim with "equipped" or "attrapped horses."*

But what is משכים? That it cannot mean "in the morning" is certain, neither grammar nor sense justifying such a rendition. The

* LXX. in translating our word with θηλυμανεῖς had obviously in mind the root זנה, from which מוזנים is an impossibility. Other etymological attempts may safely be ignored in view of the well-established meaning of our word from post-biblical usage.

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LXX. ignores the word entirely, probably the best thing that it could do under the circumstances. The Vulgate has *emissarii;* I do not know what that could possibly mean in connection with horses (unless it stands for *semen emittentes*), nor by what process of etymology such a meaning of משכים could be arrived at. Arnheim in his *Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* (p. 139), suspecting an obscene expression in agreement with the Greek translation of m'yuzzanim, explains משכים as a contraction of מאשיכים, a denominative of אשך (Lev. 21:20). It is scarcely necessary to disprove a monstrous etymology like this.

Now מַשְׂכִּים is on its surface a plural of מַשְׂכִּי; which by its form intimates a geographical or ethnical term. The patronymic of זֶרַח being זַרְחִי, of פֶּלֶט, פַּלְטִי, etc., there is nothing to prevent deriving מַשְׂכִּי from מֶשֶׁךְ, the Assyrian Muski or Muški (Schrader, *KAT*², p. 84), the land generally mentioned in the Bible in connection with Tubal. There is ample evidence, I am told by Assyriologists (see the following note), that the Assyrians imported their war-horses from Muski u Tabal, and this is confirmed by Ezekiel in ch. 27:13–14, and more directly with regard to Meshekh in ch. 38:3–4.

סוסים משכים may therefore safely be assumed to mean "horses of Meshekh," and the verse under consideration, divested of all obscenity, will have to be translated: "They have become war-horses of Meshekh; they neigh, everyone, after his neighbor's wife." When the war-horse is attrapped for battle, he neighs, anxious to rush forth for attack. So do the men whom Jeremiah describes, neigh, but they select for their attacks women, everyone the wife of his neighbor.

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MEŠEK AND TABAL.

The land of Mešek is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings and in association with Tubal—so *e. g.* Sargon, *Annals*, l. 9, and *Nimrud Inscription*, l. 11—precisely as the two are associated together, Gen. 10:2; Ezek. 27:13; 32:16; 38:2, 3; and perhaps also Isa. 66:19, where, instead of מֹשְׁכֵי קֶשֶׁת תּוּבַל, we must read מֶשֶׁךְ וְתוּבַל. The latter is written in the Assyrian inscriptions Muski or Muški. The preference is to be given to the reading with *š*. Mešek and Tubal were adjacent regions in the Taurus mountain range. The "war-horses' of Muski are referred to by Sargon in his *Annals*, l. 373; those of Tabal (as the Assyrians write the name) are mentioned by Ashurbanapal, *Rassam Cylinder*, col. ii, 73–74, where the king says: "I imposed upon Mukalli, the king of Tabal, large horses as yearly tribute.' We may conclude from this notice that the horses coming from the district in which Musku and Tabal lay were noted for their size. From this region the Hittites obtained their horses, and it is likely that the Egyptians also imported some of their horses from the Taurus mountains.

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PERSIAN-JEWISH POETRY.*

All students of poetry must feel greatly indebted for the valuable sketch published by the erudite Parsic scholar, Dr. P. Horn, who appears to have made the relations and literary activity of the Persian Jews a specialty. Already in a previous dissertation, entitled "Zu den jüdisch-persischen Bibelübersetzungen," published recently in a scientific journal, of which I possess a reprint through the author's courtesy [11 pages], Dr. Horn displayed a wonderful familiarity with the literature and critical method of former commentators on the subject, and merited the thanks of his fellow-scholars. His researches on our topic are all the more welcome, because comparatively very few have concerned themselves with Jewish-Persian literature, to which the greatest impetus in recent years was given by my late father, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, in his *Kritische Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuch-Uebersetzung des Jacob ben Joseph Tawûs, unter stetiger Rücksichtsnahme auf die aeltesten Bibelversionen. Ein Beitrag z. Geschichte d. Bibel-Exegese* (Leipzig u. Heidelberg, 1871; 8vo, 400 pp.), and in several essays† on comparative religion and mythology, which were published chiefly in the *ZDMG.* and elsewhere. Jewish-Persian poetry is not very well represented in our literature. Beside the references cited by Dr. Horn, and Drs. Neubauer, Steinschneider, Derenbourg and other bibliographers, we beg to call attention to the following fragmentary poem already quoted by S. Munk: *Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon*, etc. (Paris, 1838, extr. d. tome IX. de la Bible de M. Cahen), pp. 68, 69; and by Dr. Adolph Jellinek (*Jnk*) in Fuerst's *Literaturblatt d. Orients*, 1845, No. 39, col. 619–20. The verses run as follows:

خطاب آمد از پيس י״י بر سالت ירמיה كه
ישראל ان را بگوى אוי לכם:
تا چند كنيد עבירה
چند كنيد תועיבה [Munk: תועבה]
نمي كنيد תשובה
אוי לכם:
از شرط אברהם מילה

* As addenda to Dr. Paul Horn's article, "Jüdisch Persische Poesie," in *ZDMG.*, Vol. XLVII., pp. 202–12.

† "The Talmud and Parsism," in Paul Teucer's *Jahrbuch*, 1866. "Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus," *Z. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Bd. IV., No. 3 (1866). "Was hat die Talmudische Eschatalogie aus d. Parsismus auf genomen?" in *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXI. (1867), pp. 552–91. "Die talmud. midrasch. Adamslegende," u. s. w., *ibid.*. Vol. XXV. (1871), pp. 59–94. "Antiparsische Aussprüche in Deuterojes.," *ibid.*, XXX., 709–22, and other articles in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, VIII. (1872), 49–64; in Geiger's *Zeitschrift fuer Wissensch. u. Leben* (1871), Vol. X., 49–73; in *Jewish Quar. Review*, II. (1890), 223–9; III. (1891), 231–50; in *Revue d. Études Juives*, XXIV. (1893), 256–71, etc., etc.

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شما را کردید מעילה
رها کردید תענית ותפלה
אוי לכם:
شما را چون دایه بودم
ومعجز ها نمودم
واز شما نه خوشنودم
אוי לנם:
از مصر وفرعون
شما را اوردم ببیرون
بدست موسی وهارون
אוי לכם:
ز[M.: זי]دریا گذار کردید

Munk, *Notice*, p. 69, translates it thus:

"La parole émana de Dieu pour une mission (confiée) à Jérémie: Dis aux Israélites: Malheur à vous!—Combien encore ferez-vous pas pénitence? malheur à vous!—De l'alliance d'Abraham, la circoncision, vous vous êtes fait une profanation; vous avez abandonné le jeûne et la prière, malheur à vous!—J'étais pour vous comme une nourrice; j'ai manifesté des miracles, mais je n'ai eu de vous aucune satisfaction; malheur à vous! De l'Égypte et de Pharaon, je vous ai délivrés par la main de Moïse et d'Ahron; malheur à vous!—Vous avez traversé la mer, etc."

Jellinek's version in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, *loc. cit.*, reads:

"Die Rede ging aus vom Herrn in der Sendung Jeremiah's: Rede zu den Israeliten: *Weh' euch!*—Wie viel werdet ihr noch der Sünden ausüben? Wie viel der Greuel? Warum übt ihr Busse nicht? *Weh' euch!*—An dem Abrahamitischen Bund der Beschneidung habt Treubruch ihr geübt; verlassen habt ihr Fasten und Gebet: *Weh' euch!*—Einer Amme gleich war ich euch; Wunder habe ich gezeigt; doch hab' ich mich eurer nicht gefreut: *Weh' euch!*—Von Mizrajim und Pharao hab' ich euch befreit durch die Hand Mosches' und Aharon's: *Weh' euch!*—Das Meer habt ihr überschritten ...."

For further particulars concerning the poem, interesting as it is, we refer the reader to Munk's remarks on the passage.

It were very serviceable for Hebrew-Persian scholars to undertake the edition of a chrestomathy of similar poetical selections from manuscript and published sources, such as are not accessible to students. Would not Professor Bacher, the able biographer of Nîzamî and editor of Sâdî's ethical verses, supply such a demand?

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

NEW YORK.

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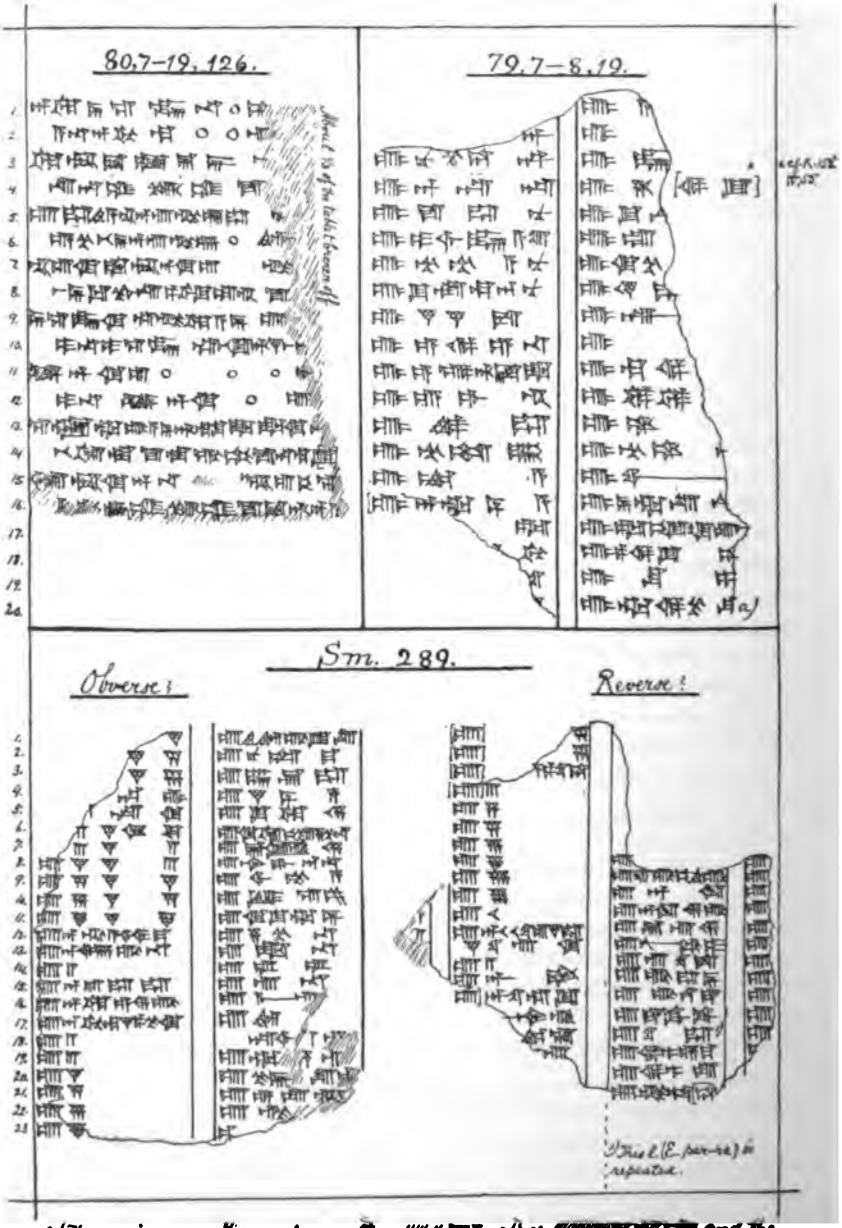
THE PA-ŠE (IŠIN) DYNASTY.



a) The remainder reads: ..., 22 ..., 23 ... and the last sign of the next line was ....

In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Juni, 1896, S. 90, Prof. Jensen has called attention to the probable identity of the two words Pa-še and I-ši-in, and with wonted acuteness has concluded that the name of the second "Paše" dynasty should be read Išin. The basis of his reasoning are the following facts: 1) K. 4995, 20*sq.*, Pa-še gál-la-ba = šá i-ši-in-šu ib-šu-ú = whose blossom was. Here the Pa apparently = išin, and the še = šu. (It may be noticed that while še does not appear elsewhere, so far as I know, as the equivalent of the pronominal suffix šu it is equated in V R. 59*a* (after KU = a-na-ku, LI = at-ta) with šú-ú. It is more than probable, therefore, that it was also used as the suffix.) But S. 22, 4, Pa + ? (= probably še) = according to the *gloss*, which is evidently printed too large in *ZA.*, VIII., 199, i-ši-in. If the restoration be correct then Pa-še = I-ši-in. 2) In the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar I. (ii, 17), who belonged to the Pa-še dynasty, the prefect of Išin is mentioned before the prefect of Babylon, and the first of the series. 3) Reissner, *VA. Th.*, 408+2179, obv. 5, Pa-še = išin.

It will be seen from the accompanying plate, 80, 7–19, 126, an interlinear inscription, that the goddess of Ni-si-in was called Gu-la. ilu Nin Ni-si-in-na = a-na ilu Gu-la, the exalted princess (l. 4). In ll. 9 and 10 we read "in I-si-in the city of her dominion" = Ni-si-in-ki uru Nam-nin-a-ni = i-na I-si-in âl bê-lu-ti-ša. Gula is, therefore, the goddess of Nisin = Isin = Išin (as is clear from other texts, as well as from K. 3811, which gives us, instead of Ni-si-in-ki, Ni-ši-in-ki). And Sm. 289 gives us a list of temples, among which we find obv.[2] l. 17, E an Gu-la ša Pa-še-ki, *i. e.*, the temple of the goddess Gu-la of the city of Išin.

I have given the whole fragment Sm. 289, of which the second column is restored from II R. 61, 30 *sq.* fol., inasmuch as it in turn helps to restore and complete that text. 79, 7–8, 19 furnishes us with another interesting occurrence of the word i-ši-in, but the above plate was not large enough to contain it. I may give here a transliteration of the complete lines of the first column:*

> ú nu še-gub(du)-ba, ú an-zu-zu, ú šá-ra-nu
> ú *i-ši-in êḳli*, ú zir-zir-a-nu, ú-ku-li-la-an-nu
> ú ša (gar) ša (gar) da, ú e-di-e-na ú e-riš-ti puḫad Sar(ḫir)
> ú kal (dan) mar mušên, ú ḫar-ra, ú zir rik šiš
> ú de(ne) a.

The tablet contains fragments of five more lines in col. i and twenty-four in col. ii, all of which are names of plants.

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March 6, 1897.

* The first copy was accidentally damaged in transmission. In the second copy the whole of the fragment is reproduced. J. A. C.

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Book Notices.

BEDJAN'S HISTOIRE DE MAR JABALAHA.*

We have again to thank the restless activity of Pater Bedjan for a volume of 574 pages of Syriac texts, which are, perhaps, of more than usual importance. The first 205 pages are taken up with the second edition of the *History of Mār Yabhallāhā and of Bar Ṣaumā*, the first edition of which was published by Bedjan in 1883. This part of the volume was issued separately; the first part of the preface bears the date "August 29, 1895," the second part "November 27." It is difficult to see why it was found necessary to publish this second edition twice, especially as confusion in citing it is apt to result. To prevent such confusion I call attention to the fact here, as Nestle has done in Germany (*Theol. Litzeitg.*, 1896, 16, col. 421).

Few Syriac texts published within recent years have excited in the learned world the interest aroused by this account of Mār Yabhallāhā and Bar Ṣaumā. The history of Nestorianism and of the men who were its valiant missionaries in the wild regions of Mongolia, Thibet and China has yet to be written. The material is being rapidly gotten together. We know that advances were made far eastward in the fourth century; and that from the fifth century on the Nestorians had a large number of bishoprics in Ḥorāsān (Nōldeke, *ZDMG.*, XLIV., 521); that the Uīgur and Mongol scripts are derived from a form of the Estrang^{e}lā Syriac. Masūdī speaks of a Turkish tribe — the Tagazgaz — who were all Manichæans. The Chinese-Syriac inscription of Si-ngan-fu shows us the progress made by Nestorians into the heart of China. The two cemeteries — at Tokmak and Pishpek in Semiryetshi (Southern Siberia) — with their hundreds of gravestones upon which Syriac inscriptions are engraven tell us how large a Nestorian community must have existed here during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (*cf.* Chwolson, *Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften*, St. Pétersbourg, 1890). And Catholic missionaries in the thirteenth century were surprised at the number of Christians they found in Peking.

The history of Yabhallāhā III. and Bar Ṣaumā take us just into this time, the thirteenth century, and present us with a vivid picture of the relation of the Mongol princes of Adherbaijān to their Christian subjects. We see how tolerant these princes were. It is only with the appearance of Muhammadanism in these regions, and its rise to commanding power, that a change for the worse occurred. The great Seldjuk (930) is said to

*TASHITHĀ DH^{e}MĀR(I) YABHALLĀHĀ; HISTOIRE DE MAR-JABALAHA, DE TROIS AUTRES PATRIARCHES, D'UN PRÊTRE ET DE DEUX LAÏQUES, NESTORIENS. Éditée par Paul Bedjan, P.D.L.M. Paris, Rue de Sevres, 95; Leipzig: *Otto Harrassowitz*. xvi + 574 pp.; 8vo. M. 16.

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have had a Christian son. Both these men, whose biography we have before us, were born in China, of Christian parents, and were contemporaries of Marco Polo. Ṣaumā was born in Peking, which city had a metropolitan of its own (Assemānī, *BO.*, II., 458). Yabhallāhā was born in Koshang—according to Duval (*JA.*, 1889, Mai-Juin, p. 315) Kung-Tshang; according to Chabot (*Histoire de Mar Yabalaha III.*, Paris, 1895, p. 15) Ho-Tchung-fu, in the year 1245. Before his elevation to the Patriarchate his name was Mark. In 1280 Yabhallāhā was made Metropolitan of Katai and Wang. Ṣaumā held the same rank; but two years later the patriarch Denḥā having died, Yabhallāhā was raised to the dignity of patriarch at Bagdad and received the investure from the Khān himself. He occupied this position for thirty-seven years, and thus had dealings with seven of the powerful Mongol princes. The great consideration in which they were held may be seen from the fact that Ṣaumā was sent by Argūn on a mission to the kings of Europe and to the Pope. He visited Italy, France and England; and the account of what he saw —which we have here almost translated by the author from the original Persian of the traveler himself—is full of interest for us.

During the long period of his patriarchate, Yabhallāhā ruled with firmness and with much tact. The closing years of his life were troublous ones for his flock, and he retired to the monastery of Maraga, south of the Sea of Urmi, where he died on November 15, 1317. The student of Church History as well as of Profane will find many data here which he will in vain look for in other sources. We do not know who the author of this history is; but he must have written it a few years after the death of the Patriarch; and Duval (*loc. cit.*, p. 353) supposes that he made use of the archives of the monastery at Maraga. It is to be hoped that an English translation will soon be made of this treatise; in which American scholars ought to be especially interested. It was due to the efforts of the American missionaries in Persia that it was rescued from oblivion. The original MS. was found in 1882 or 1883 in Minganish and copied by a certain Rabbān Yōnān of Tᵉḥūmā. It was brought to Urmī in 1885, and the first translation was made into Modern Syriac by Ḳāshā Ōshānā and published in the periodical *Zahrīrē d'bahrā* by the Rev. Mr. Shedd in 1885–6. The original MS. is said to be in Kochanis in Kurdistān; but I have the impression that this refers to the first copy made by Rabbān Yōnān. The first description of the MS. was given by an American scholar, the late Professor I. H. Hall (*Proceedings of the Am. Or. Soc.*, 1886, pp. cxxvi, *sq.*). Since then several copies have been made. Of these Bedjan has been able to make use of five, so that we may feel pretty certain that we have in this second edition a correct text.

The other texts published here by Bedjan are all worthy of careful attention, as they contribute to our knowledge of the history of Nestorianism. It was Denḥā, Patriarch of the East, to whom Yabhallāhā succeeded. On pp. 332–346 we have a metrical account of his life by a writer named John, who must have lived at about the same time. Bedjan's copy was made in the monastery of Mār Hōrmīzd in Alḳōsh

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(Sachau, *Reise in Mesopotamien*, p. 365; *cf.* Budge, *The Life of Rabbān Hōrmīzd*, Berlin, 1894). Only when the whole work was printed, did Bedjan find out that this metrical history of Mār Denḥā had been published before by Abbè Chabot (see *Note*, p. 572). *Cf.* "Eloge du Patriarche Nestorien Mār Denḥā 1er..." par J. B. Chabot, *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Fév. 1895, pp. 110 *sq.* Both copies go back to the same MS. original. Chabot's copy seems to have passed through one more hand than that of Bedjan. This may account for the slight divergences between the two editions; *e. g.*, Bedjan, l. 60, ܒܪܗ, Chabot ܕܪܗ; B., l. 62, ܘܟܠܗ .. ܡܫܘܚܠܐ, C. ܟܠܗ .. ܡܫܘܚܠܐ; B., l. 148, ܘܠܐ ܡܠܐ, C. ܘܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܗܘܐ; B., l. 88, ܠܐܬܘܡܐ, C. ܐܬܘܡܐ; B., l. 59, ܟܪܘܙܐ ܡܟܬܒܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܗ ܢܝܐ ܢܗܡ ܒܡܘܬܢܐ reads in C. (l. 53) [ܘ]ܢܝܚܐ [ܗܘܐ] ܟܪܘܙܐ ܡܟܬܒܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܗ. Lines 47–52 in B. occur in C. as lines 83–88. Denḥā was born in Bēth Bagash (بابغاش), not far from Arbēlā (but see Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, p. 227); became Metropolitan of Arbēlā and then Nestorian Patriarch (1266–1281). It was he who ordained Yabhallāhā as Metropolitan of China and Bar Ṣaumā as "visitor-general"; and he was known for the conciliatory spirit with which he attempted to straighten out the controversies between Monophysites and Nestorians. The data given here supplement those furnished by Bar 'Ebhrāyā, whom he seems to have met in the year 1277. See *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, III., cols. 430, 440, 450 and 452. *Cf. BO.*, III., 564.

The life of Mār Abbā I. (pp. 206–274) takes us back more than five hundred years, into the times when Christianity fought against the powerful state religion of the Persian Kingdom, Zoroastrianism. His history is given by Bar 'Ebhrāyā in the *Chron. Eccl.*, III., col. 90 *sq.* (Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 16, 116 *sq.*). He was born a Zoroastrian, and reached the rank of Arz[e]bed (Lagarde, *Semitica*, I., 43). He was converted in a place called Ḥātē (211, 7: on the Tigris in the neighborhood of Bagdad. Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, p. 71, thinks of Ḥaulāyā), near his birthplace. A certain Joseph, called [also] Moses, whom he met in a ܩܪܩܘܪܐ (κερκυρας) while crossing the Tigris effected this. It is interesting to see that he first took this Joseph for a Marcionite; the followers of that "heresy" seem to have lived here in large numbers. Though he is denounced to the Hārmārgerd of Bēth Ārāmāyē (215, 13) named Chudanbud in the province of Rādhān (Hoffmann, p. 71), he is baptized at Āched (*cf.* ܐܟܕܐ—a people near Āmid, Payne-Smith, col. 176. Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, 116, says at al-Ḥīrah!). He was known as a good Persian scholar; went to Nisibis and to Edessa to learn Greek from a certain Thomas and science from John Grammaticus. In the sixth year of Chosrau Anushirwān he was ordained Catholicus at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and held this position from 536 until 552. He seems to have traveled much in search of learning. With Mār Ma'ni he went to Arzōn, to Nisibis again, to Bēth Rhūmāyē in order to meet a certain Sergius, an Arian, to Athens, Constantinople, Cilicia, Antioch, to Bēth Huzzāyē, to

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Maishān, etc. (p. 225). He was, however, banished by Chosrau into Ādhōrbaijān, where he remained for seven years. This was, no doubt, due to the intense hostility he displayed towards the state religion. He returned to Seleucia only to be re-imprisoned, and died shortly afterwards.

Much of the interest which this *Life* has for us lies in the reference to Zoroastrian religious ideas and to Persian names. I have culled a few as an appendix to my article in the Drisler *Memorial Volume*. The chief Mōbed (*Mōbdān Mōbed*) who has to do with Mār Abbā is named (226, 12) Dād-Hōrmīzd; of his assistants one is called Ādhōrparēh, whose rank was that of Shāhardāwar (228, 14). The other is mentioned simply as the *Radh of Persia*. Mār Abbā was an opponent of "the Dīn of Magism which was given by God Hōrmīzd" (ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܐܠܗܐ, 226, 12: 230, 10; once "Dīn of Hōrmīzdād," 255, 3). The convert was given over into the hands of these priests when the king left *Ustānā* (استان البهقباذ in Irak? Yākūt, I., 241) in order to make war upon the ܛܝܝܥܐ (227, 15; *cf.* 266, 13). While they were disputing with him, the Mauhpāṭă of Bēth Ārāmāyē (233, l. l.) complained that he had released "many Christians who had lawsuits amongst themselves—*buchtnāmāg with the seal of the Maubdān Maubed*—and had destroyed the Buchtnāmāg." On p. 234, 7, we read that he suffered treacherously at the hand of a Shumr^e^tāyā (of Shumrā, Hoffmann, p. 188) named *Dīndād*. On p. 238, 10, he is charged with ordering his people not to eat flesh which is ܡܡܓܫ "be-Magianed" (for which 229, 3, ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ); for which reason *purshashnāmag* is declared against him (*cf.* 238, 3, 14; 239, 4). On p. 239, end, Mār Abbā is given over to the Radh of Ādhorbaijān, whose name was Dādīn. He was sent to Ābhorbaijān "dark in its idolatry, to a district (rustāḳ) sombre in its superstition, called P^e^rahrāwar, to a city which was the birthplace and nurse of all Magism, called *Sersh of the Magians*. Thither had collected the Magians from the whole land of the Persians in order to learn the inept murmurings of Zārādusht, son of Spidtahman—men who were opposed to all truth, men who went around in bands and cliques, walking after their teachers; importunate and excited by the ineptness of their idolatry, bawling and stuttering, gnashing their teeth like wild animals," p. 243, 2 f. b. This city is called "the lair of the Magians, in which no Christian should come and over-night it." P. 242, 14, the Radh hands him over to the *Āyenbedh* and the *G^e^zirāyē* (lictors, Hoffmann, p. 62). *Cf.* the Radh and the Āyenbedh, p. 255, 11. Here he heals a woman named *Arwāndād* (246, 11). A message is brought to Mār Abbā from the king (252, 17) by *Paruchdād Hōrmīzd*, the D^e^zādāgū (read *dizādār*, major domus; Payne-Smith, col. 880, which Bedjan himself suggests; *cf.* 264, 10). P. 257, 10, Mār Abbā is given over to the *Malbed*, in order that he may be tortured. P. 259, 8, as "grandees of the Maubdān Maubed" are mentioned: *Kardāg* (Feige, *Mār 'Abhdīšō'*, p. 9), *the Āyenbed, Shahārdāwar* and [the?] *Āzādsad* of the Maubdān Maubed. P. 266, 15, the *Hapṭ^e^rān Chūdhae* (head of the Hapṭ^e^rāyē) is sent to the

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king. These "Christian Hapṭᵉrāyē" are mentioned 267, 4, 7, 12, *bēth Hapṭᵉrāyē*, 269, 1, 3. Do they take their name from الهَفْتَة of which Yāḳūt (4, 978) says وكان النبط (Syrians) يسمّونهفا هفاطرناى? Bar Bahlūl (Duval, p. 653) and Payne-Smith, col. 1024, must read ܗܦܛܪ̈ܝ ܟܘܪܒ in place of ܗܦܛܪ̈ܝ ܗ̄ ܠܟܘܪܒ.

The "letter of the Mār Abbā on the proper direction of believers" (pp. 274–287) is one of the ܐܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܣܘܢܗܕܝܩܝ̈ܐ *ἐπιστολαι συνοδικαι* mentioned in *BO.*, III., 76. A specimen of such a one is given, *ibid.*, p. 77; and part of the very one now before us is cited on p. 79 (in Arabic from the *Kitāb al-Majdal* of Mārē ibn Suleimān). In this "letter" Mār Abbā exhorts his flock to remain steadfast, to help one another, and to see that ecclesiastics and laymen live in unity. His special attention is given, however, to arranging the degrees of consanguinity within which marriage should not take place. The greater part is taken up with this subject; and is an evidence that many of his flock must have adopted, in this respect, the practices of the people around them. "If anyone dare to approach the wife of his father, the wife of his paternal uncle, his paternal aunt, his maternal aunt, his sister, his bride, his daughter, his son's daughter, the granddaughter of his wife (as do the Magians), his sister-in-law (as do the Jews), an unbeliever (as do the idolaters), we, and the Metropolitan and Episcopi of our people declare" that such are not lawful, etc. (p. 281, 8 *sq.*). Those who have contracted such marriages are given from one month to one year to dissolve them (282, 14); otherwise they are to be excluded from all the rights of the Church (283, 13). Those who have married their sister-in-law, without knowing that it was a sin, and do not feel able to dissolve the bonds, are commanded to fast and to give alms in order to obtain forgiveness from on High (284, 3, *sq.*). The same matter is mentioned in the life of Mār Abbā (235, 5), and is the subject of reproach on the part of the Magians (255, 4), as well as of the interesting conversation reported by Bar 'Ebhrāyā between Mār Abbā and Chosrau Anushirwān (ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, II., 90). On Mār Abbā, Guidi, *ZDMG.*, XLIII., 401, and Cersoy, *ZA.*, IX., 368, 371.

The life of Mār Sabhrīshō' I. by the monk Peter (pp. 288–331) comes from a MS. in the possession of Abbeloos. Sabhrīshō' followed 'Ishō'yabh of Arzōn as Catholicos, and sat from 596 to 604. Before that, he had been Bishop of Lāshōm (Bar 'Ebhrāyā, *Chron. Eccles.*, II., 106; *BO.*, III., 447; Budge, *The Book of Governors*, II., 86, 90; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 133). At the synod which was held under his presidency in 596, the views of Hannānā of Ḥᵉdhaiyabh (Adiabene), who leaned to the Monophysites and preferred Chrysostom's exegesis to that of Theodore of Mopuestia, were publicly condemned. He was a native of Pīrōzābādh in Sīrzūr, a district of Bēth Garmai (288, 5. On Siārzūr = Shahrazūr, see Nöldeke, *Die von Guidi herausgegebene Syrische Chronik*, p. 17, note 4; Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, Index, s. v.). He was the founder of the monastery of Bēth Kūkā (*JA.*, 1890, p. 127). Guidi has shown that he

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was not the author of the Ecclesiastical History, which is usually ascribed to him (*ZDMG.*, XL., 559).

The lives of Mār Yazīdpānāh (pp. 394–415) and of Gīwarjīs (George; pp. 395–571)—the latter by Mār Bābhī, head of the monastery on Mount Izlā, have been excerpted by Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer* (pp. 87–115). We are glad to have the full text before us. Many of the lacunae in the London MS. are to be found in the fuller MS. used by Bedjan.

All students will be thankful to Father Bedjan for this additional volume of Syriac texts.

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November, 1896.

HILGENFELD'S JABALAHA III.*

The continued interest which is shown in the history of Nestorianism among the Mongols, and which was started by Bedjan's publication of the life of Mār Yabhallāhā, is evinced by the short Arabic account which Dr. R. Hilgenfeld presents here. A brother of the author of this treatise —Dr. Heinrich Hilgenfeld—has already done good service in this direction by his corrections of the text of the first of Bedjan's editions (*Textkritische Bemerkungen zu* ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܗܒܐܠܗܐ. Jena, 1894).

A Nestorian controversialist of the twelfth century, Mārē bar Suleimān, wrote a theological and historical work in Arabic, with the title *Kitāb al-Mijdal;* in the latter part of which he gave a short account of the Nestorian Patriarchs, commencing with Addai and Mārī, two of the seventy disciples of the early church, and finishing in the year 1147. Some other author seems to have continued this work down to the year 1214. In the first half of the fourteenth century this work was epitomized and continued to the end of the patriarchate of Mār Yabhallāhā (1281–1317) by 'Amr bar Mattai (Matthew). George Ebedjesu Khayyath in his *Syri Orientales* (Rome, 1870, pp. 106–7) asserts that a part of it, at least, was written by one Ṣᵉlībhā, son of Yoḥannā of Mosoul, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Hilgenfeld seems to follow Khayyath; for he speaks of the author as "Pseudo-Amrus seu Sliva Mossulanus" (p. vii). It seems impossible to tell, at this moment, what the correct facts are. Some such book by Ṣᵉlībhā seems to have been current in the Orient; for Badger (*The Nestorians*, I., 136) cites a passage from a MS. of this work. I have my doubts whether Ṣᵉlībhā really wrote a *Kitāb al-Mijdal.* Wright (*Syriac Literature*, p. 255; *cf.* p. 19) seems to hold the same opinion. The error may have arisen from the fact that 'Amr incorporated in his epitome the "confession of faith of Michael, bishop of Āmid and Maiyāfāriḳīn [see the introduction, *BO.*, III., 557], translated into Arabic by the priest Ṣalībhā ibn Yoḥannā" (Wright, *ibid.*). It is also impossible to tell from Khayyath's words which of the codices in the Vatican Library

*JABALAHAE III., Catholici Nestoriani vita ex Slivae Mossulani libro, qui inscribitur 'Turris' desumpta. Edidit, apparatu critico instruxit, in Latinum sermonem vertit, adnotationibus illustravit Dr. R. Hilgenfeld. Lipsiae: *Otto Harrassowitz*, 1896. 36 pp.: 8vo.

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he ascribes to Ṣᵉlībhā (see Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, pp. 6, 7). According to Hilgenfeld this is Codex XLI. If this is true, it cannot be Codex 109 as Hoffmann thought; but, rather, the "tertius codex historico-theologus" of Khayyath. Hilgenfeld speaks of Cod. Vat. Arab. 110 as containing the work of 'Amr. It would be well if these conflicting data could be straightened out. A MS. in the Berlin Royal Library (Sachau, 12) seems to contain this history of 'Amr; though in the Catalogue (Sachau, *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. 2) it bears the title *Asfār al-asrār*. From this MS. Christian Harder has promised to give us an edition; but, as yet, we have only a "specimen" in Latin translation (*Historiae Primatium ecclesiae Nestorianorum ab 'Amro filio Matthaei .... specimen*, Jahresbericht über das Progymnasium zu Neumünster, 1890). This seems to be the very MS. which Siouffi consulted (see below). From two notes in Hilgenfeld's little book (pp. 30 and 35) I see that Henry Gismondi has published in Rome part of the *Kitāb al-Mijdal*. No copy has, as yet, reached America. There seems also to be a MS. in the Cambridge University Library (Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 256).

The few Arabic pages here published give us a short account of the life of Mār Yabhallāhā III. A small part of this text had already been published by Assemānī (*BO*., IV., cxxix); and an epitome of it given in Latin (*BO*., II., 456). Siouffi had also published a translation ("Notice sur un patriarche nestorien," *Journal Asiatique*, VII. Serie, Vol. XVII., 1881, pp. 89*sq*.), which, though not always philologically correct, gave us all the information contained in the account. But the whole account is of little worth to us, now that we are in possession of the Syriac original from which it has been drawn, and which has been made accessible by the French translation of Chabot (Paris, 1895). 'Amr's work was, at best, a mere compilation; and, as is the case with the history of 'Bar Ebhrāyā, it loses its value the more we get the sources upon which the author depended. It is a pity that Dr. Hilgenfeld has wasted such good effort upon a rather unworthy object. For the text is very carefully edited from the copies made by Guidi, is well translated, and all the variants in the MSS., in Siouffi and Assemānī are religiously recorded. As a specimen of the manner in which such texts ought to be edited, the little book may well be recommended to our younger scholars; but, as there is so much important material still in our libraries of manuscripts, it is not from any unkind feeling that scholars will regret that Dr. Hilgenfeld did not choose some other subject.

The same criticism may be made of the "Adnotationes." We are not helped by quotations from books which are readily accessible, such as Chabot's edition and Duval's epitome of the life of Mār Yabhallāhā, or the lexica of Payne-Smith and Brockelmann. There are hardly more than half a dozen points in which this Arabic account differs from the Syriac (see p. 30). They might easily have formed a note in some journal. The list of bishops who were present at the inauguration of Mār Yabhallāhā (pp. 32–35) is given by Assemānī; and the names of their seats are either well known or can easily be found in Chabot, in Hoffmann's

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Persische Märtyrer, or in the notes to Budge's translation of Thomas of Marga (see *e. g.* for Daren, p. 67; Irbel, p. 176; Ma'all^{e}thā, p. 238; Mosoul, p. 289, etc., etc.). The note on ܣܡܪܘܢܐ (p. 26) is no advance on the citation from Payne-Smith. There is a note upon the same subject in Harder's *Specimen* (p. 6). In the same treatise (p. 5) there is an interesting note on ܦܘܪܓܝܐ (Hilgenfeld, p. 27). On the "Monastery of St. Michael," p. 29, see the quotation from Sachau's *Reise* in *PAOS.*, May, 1887, p. clxxxii. Badger's work on the Nestorians and Howorth's *History of the Mongols* were not accessible to Hilgenfeld (p. 23). The latter would have aided him greatly.

The excellent method which the author shows in this little work makes us hope that he will turn his attention to greater things. He shows so much promise that before long we shall certainly have something more equal to his powers.

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November 28, 1896.

THE ACCENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

The accents with which the text of the Hebrew Bible has been provided by the Masoretic schools, were intended to serve a threefold purpose. In the first place, they should, similar to the accents in the Greek language, indicate the tone syllable of each word. Secondly, they should not only, as the interpunction signs in modern languages, mark the divisions of sentences and their clauses, but also indicate the relation of the single words to each other in the structure of the sentences. Finally, they should serve as a kind of musical signs having regard to the peculiar mode of cantillation which in oriental countries is used in solemn reading. This manifold purpose explains the large number and variety of the accents.

The biblical accentuation shows two different systems, one adopted exclusively for the three poetical books: Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (from the initials of their Hebrew names in reversed order usually called the books of אֱמֶת), the other system for the remaining part of the Hebrew Bible.

The astonishing industry which these labors of the Masoretes represent can hardly be overrated. By these accents they provided the sacred text, as it were, with a running commentary which enables the reader to see, at a glance, whether a word belongs to the one preceding or following, whether to raise or to lower the voice, where to continue and where to stop.

We have a number of more or less valuable treatises on the accentuation of the Bible, mostly written in the Hebrew language. The most noteworthy of them are those by Aaron Ben Asher and Jehuda Ibn

* DIE ACCENTE DER HEILIGEN SCHRIFT (mit Ausschluss der Bücher אֱמֶת) von I. M. Japhet. Frankfurt a.-M.: *I. Kauffmann*, 1896. viii + 184 pp.; 8vo. M. 2.

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Bil'am, both of them flourishing in the eleventh century, by Elijah Levita, in the fifteenth, and Abraham de Balmesi, in the sixteenth century; further by W. Heidenheim, in the first part of the present century, and by S. Baer, in our days. The last mentioned scholar treated especially of the accentuation of the poetical books of the Bible. Some treatises in Latin were published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Samuel Bohl, Wachsmuth, Spitzer, and others. In modern languages Ewald in Germany and William Henry Green in this country, and other German and English scholars treated of the accents in their larger grammars of the Hebrew language; but their expositions are mostly too brief to do full justice to the important subject. Original and thorough researches on this subject were published in Oxford, England (1881–1887), by William Wickes, D.D., in two volumes, one treating of the "accentuation of the so-called poetical," and the other "of the twenty-one so-called prose books of the Old Testament."

The latest publication on this subject is the German book before us. It is a posthumous work, having been published several years after the author's death. This circumstance may serve as an explanation why no reference is made in this treatise to Wickes' excellent work just mentioned. Japhet's book treats exclusively of the accents of the prose books, and is divided into eight chapters. In contrast to Ewald's exposition of the subject, it applies the analytical method, and though having a strictly scientific character, uses throughout a plain and popular language. Different from Ewald and other predecessors who tried to find in the name of each accent a reference to the melody, our author derives most of the names from the shape of the various signs. He is, however, not quite consistent in this respect, as in some instances he, too, explains the names as indicating the melody, for instance, in regard to *R'bhia*, *Geresh*, *T'bhir*, and *T'lisha*. It is, in our opinion, more probable that, with the exception of *Silluq* and *Athnach*, all the names describe the forms of the signs only, according to their fancied resemblance to different objects. Thus, *R'bhia* does not mean "repoising the voice," but like the Hebrew rabua means "four-sided," and this accent has indeed in good editions of the Bible the form of a little square instead of a single dot, to prevent confounding it with the vowel *Cholem*.—Instead of forcing upon the name of *Geresh* the meaning of "expulsion of the voice," we think the word means simply "a sprout" or an "ear of corn," represented by the sign of this accent.—The shape of the accent *T'lisha* bears a decided resemblance to a single grape with its stalk, and as *S'golta* represents a *bunch* of grapes, our accent was called *T'lisha* (from the Aramaic verb talash, "to tear off"), a *plucked* grape.—Regarding the name of the accent called *T'bhir*, the Hebrew grammarian Abraham de Balmesi (sixteenth century) already gave an ingenious and plausible explanation to the effect that this accent was called "fractured" (from the Aramaic verb tabar, "to break"), because the sign resembles the *fraction* of a wheel, or the segment of a circle, showing a part of the periphery and the center.

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Very lucid and instructive is Japhet's book, especially in the chapters which treat of the relation of the accents to each other, and demonstrate the rules of their consecution according to the different structure of the sentences. Every rule is illustrated by numerous examples taken especially from the Pentateuch. Guided by these lucid rules the intelligent student is enabled to provide any passage of the Hebrew Bible with the proper accents.

The seventh chapter explains the meaning and the reason of the twofold accentuation with which the Decalogue has been provided by the Masoretes.

Highly interesting is the closing chapter, which treats of the use of the accents as musical signs and illustrates the traditional modulation by transcribing the single accents and those of whole scriptural passages into musical notes of our time.

We recommend Japhet's book to all who take interest in the subject of biblical accentuation.

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LANDAU, DIE GEGENSINNIGEN WÖRTER IM ALT- UND NEUHEBRÄISCHEN.*

Enantiosemy, or the occurrence of two opposite meanings for one and the same word, was first treated in special monographs by the Arabian grammarians.† Recently Carl Abel discussed the subject with reference to old-Egyptian and Coptic.‡ In Hebrew thus far only single words of this kind have been incidentally noted and commented upon in the rabbinical literature and in some modern commentaries and periodicals. In Dr. Landau's book we have therefore the first comprehensive and systematic discussion of this interesting problem in Hebrew.

In the interesting and suggestive introduction (pp. 10–30) Dr. Landau examines the various attempts at an explanation of the problem from a linguistic, logical and psychological standpoint. He himself ascribes the *enantiosemy* to nine factors: 1) objective reasons which are inherent in the things themselves (*i. e.*, an object may be viewed and described from opposite sides), 2) polarity of certain ideas which are thus subject to differentiation, 3) present phonetic identity of originally phonetic variation, 4) contrast of association of ideas, 5) the tropical nature of

* DIE GEGENSINNIGEN WÖRTER IM ALT- UND NEUHEBRÄISCHEN SPRACHVERGLEICHEND DARGESTELLT, von Dr. E. Landau. Berlin: *S. Calvary*, 1896. 8vo, 236 pp. M. 7.

† The كِتَاب الاضداد (Kitābu-l-Aḍdād; sive liber de vocabulis arab. quae plures habent significationes) of Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri (885–940 A. D.) obtained the position of a standard book on this subject. It was edited by M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1881. Also see Th. M. Redslob, *Die Arabischen Wörter mit entgegengesetzten Bedeutungen*, Göttingen, 1873, and Friedrich Giese, *Untersuchungen über die Aḍdad (auf Grund von Stellen in altarabischen Dichtern)*, Berlin, 1894. (Diss.)

‡ "Über den Gegensinn der Urworte" in his *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 311–367; *cf.* also "Über den Ursprung der Sprache," *ibid.*, pp. 299 *sqq.*

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language. For the Semitic languages in particular: 6) lack of compounds and abundance of denominatives, 7) the tendency of the Orientals to wit and irony, 8) our imperfect knowledge of the Oriental mode of thinking, and 9) the difference between the Orientals and Occidentals in the manner of expression.

The words of opposite meanings are divided into and treated under ten categories (pp. 39 *sqq.*): i) phonetic identity with difference of root (homonyms), ii) privatives, iii) relations of space, iv) relations of time v) motion, vi) *voces ambiguæ*, vii) reciprocity, viii) affects, ix) tropes, x) relations (particles). This division—perhaps suggested by the ten metaphysical categories of Aristotle, as the whole treatise exhibits a straining after a philosophical coloring—cannot be called a methodical one, and is the more surprising as in the enumeration of the causes of *enantiosemy* quoted above Landau seemed to have approached the problem from the right direction. The present classification is artificial and separates what belongs together. Thus nearly all the words of the category of motion (יצא, קרב, נגש, etc.) are properly a subdivision of the category of the *voces ambiguæ*. For they unite opposite meanings primarily because their primitive significance is neutral; they are neutral because they express motion. So also many of the words of the category of affects (ילל, רוע, etc.). While on the other hand שִׁקֵּק *be thirsty* and *quench the thirst*,* and הוֹכִיחַ *reproach* and *justify one's self*, enumerated under the *voces ambiguæ*, would better come under the category of tropes (metonymy).

The book frequently also betrays the lack of a firm handling and sifting of the subject matter. Thus it is difficult to see a "Gegensinn" in בֹּקֶר *morning* and the *next day*, עֶרֶב *evening* and the *whole night*, שַׁבָּת *Sabbath day* and *week*, or *Sabbatical year*, etc., in which the second meaning is not the *contrarium*, but merely the extension of the first. Or when the contrary meaning is produced by a different preposition or adverb, as סִקֵּל בְּ *stone*, קְרַב אליך, גֶּשׁ הָלְאָה *get away*, etc.†

Space will not permit to enter into a detailed criticism of Landau's renderings and derivations of some words, as, for instance, גילו (Ps. 2:11) *tremble*, מִקֵּץ (Deut. 15:1; Jer. 34:14) *at the beginning*, or the assuming for עזב, on account of Ex. 23:5 and Neh. 3:8, two stems (comp. the development of meaning in Assyr. ezêbu and šûzubu), or the connecting of חסד (Prov. 25:10) with New Hebr. חשד. For, after all, these exceptions do not materially impair the value and usefulness of the treatise nor diminish the service Dr. Landau has rendered to Hebrew lexicography in having taken up the subject and presented the material bearing on it. And it is indeed a rich material that he offers. The words and their various meanings are given in their textual connection;

* *Cf.* Arab. نهل, Giese, p. 21.

† The Arabian grammarians consider as a ضدّ "a word that without differentiating additions signifies two contrarily opposite ideas," Redslob, p. 6.

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the commentaries, especially the mediæval Jewish, are copiously quoted, accompanied by numerous parallels from the Semitic dialects as well as from Indo-European languages. So that the treatise forms a kind of *thesaurus* on the question. Indexes of the words of the several languages discussed in the book facilitate its use for reference.

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STUDIA SINAITICA NO. V.*

This volume is a valuable contribution to the apocryphal literature of the New Testament and an indispensable supplement to the VIIIth volume of the Ante-Nicene Fathers (Coxe's edition). The following criticisms are not meant as a disparagement of that which the learned author has set before us in the way of texts, translations, and introductions; but they are simply corrective of slight errors and suggestive of changes which might enhance the usefulness of the work.

1. All of the texts are translated in full, except the Arabic recensions of the Anaphora Pilati. In foot-notes the more important variations of the Arabic as compared with the Syriac are given. But these notes are unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, with the exception of the second note on page 1 no sign is given to indicate whether the version is made from the first or second Arabic recension. Secondly, not all the variations are noted. On page 4, line 6, the Syriac reads: "And I strove much to release him and I could not." Since the editor is in the habit of marking the omissions from the Arabic texts, surely the omission of such an important passage as this, which occurs in neither of the two Greek recensions, should have been called to our attention.

2. It would have spared a great amount of work to scholars who wish to compare the two recensions of the Arabic text of the Anaphora Pilati, had the variations between them been noted. The redactor has counted ninety-nine variations on the three pages of the Paradosis alone. Most of these variations are immaterial, the agreement between the two being so close as to preclude the supposition of different translators from the Greek. One is rather the revision of the other,—revision rather than corruption, for the employment throughout B of certain words and idioms in preference to others which are used in A shows a method, rather than the result of chance or of mere copyists' errors.

In general, the translations can be relied upon implicitly. The rendition of the Syriac text has been revised by Dr. Eberhard Nestle. We call attention, however, to the following oversights: On page 1, line 11,

* STUDIA SINAITICA No. V. APOCRYPHA SINAITICA. I. Anaphora Pilati, three recensions (in Syriac and Arabic); II. Recognitions of Clement, two recensions; III. Martyrdom of Clement; IV. The Preaching of Peter; V. Martyrdom of James, son of Alphæus; VI. Preaching of Simon, son of Cleophas; VII. Martyrdom of Simon, son of Cleophas, in Arabic [*i. e.*, from II. to VII. inclusive are in Arabic]. Edited and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. London: *C. J. Clay and Sons*, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane; Glasgow: 263 Argyle Street, 1896. $3.75.

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"to" occurs instead of "and"; on page 51, line 6, "lest" instead of "if perchance"; on page 65, line 3, "eight" instead of "ten." Perhaps, also, it would be better to transliterate "Marabalas" rather than to render it by "Maroones." On page 68, line 2, of the Arabic text "yay" occurs instead of "bay," and on page 58, line 22, "wau" instead of "ray." On page 6, line 9, read "in much fear and great trembling." Besides, we judge it would be better in all cases to render ma'mudiya by "baptismal water" rather than by "font."

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THE YEMEN HAGGADAH.*

Jewish history and literature has its surprises and startling discoveries also. Arabia is opening up her long-hidden treasures to cast new light on the history of the medieval synagogue, the liturgy and the Midrashic literature of the Jews in countries somewhat remote from the track of European civilization. The learned world is anxiously waiting for the long-promised publication by Mr. Schechter of the great Midrashic compilation *Midrash Ha-Gadol*, which, with all its characteristics of a late African or Arabian origin, bids fair to exhibit many an ancient Haggadah in a new light, or in a more complete form. Dr. Gaster and Neubauer have given us many specimens of the Yemen liturgy which show that between the Spanish and the German rituals there existed at least one other branch of synagogal tradition which, being organically connected with both, points back to an older process of differentiation and growth. Both the prayer-books (Siddurim) and the Midrashic works that are stored up in the British and Oxford Museums, or still wait for the happy explorer, give proof to the remarkable fact that Arabian Judaism grew in the course of time to be as truly Arabic in language and character as Spanish Judaism was peculiarly Spanish, and German Judaism German. While emigrating from the Babylonian provinces in the ninth or tenth century, the Jews retained their Aramean language until the Arabic became their vernacular, and then they used translations both of the Bible and of the Prayer-book for their devotional purposes. It is in this manner that the Passover Haggadah sprang up which we have here before us—a strange mixture of Hebrew Aramean and (vulgar) Arabic, and highly interesting to the student.

The editor is a pupil of Dr. Gaster, who familiarized him with the chief literature on the subject and induced him to publish the work. The most valuable part of the book, therefore, is the Introduction, which affords a fair insight into the character of the Yemen ritual and the influence exercised by the authority of Maimonides on the Jews of Africa and Arabia, and furnishes a large amount of information about those

* THE HAGGADAH ACCORDING TO THE RITE OF YEMEN, together with an Arabic-Hebrew Commentary. Published for the first time from MSS. of Yemen, with Introduction, Translation, and Critical and Philological Notes by William H. Greenburg. London: *David Nutt*, 1896. xxvi + 56 + 80 pp. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

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liturgical manuscripts the very existence of which is known to but the few elect. It seems that all the great liturgical works of the Jews known by the name of *Siddur* ("Order of Prayers") or *Mahazor* ("Cycle"), comprising the prayers and devotional exercises for the whole year, formed the principal sources of Jewish knowledge as well as guides for religious conduct. What the Talmudical literature was for the scholar, the *Siddur* or Religious Almanach with its varied contents was for the larger class of Jews. Translations and interpretations of the devotional readings in the vernacular were in order, and while they were copied for private use, the annotations increased. Marginal notes were put into the text and again commented upon. Of this our Passover Haggadah forms a part. The editor describes on pp. xxiii–xxvi the various manuscripts written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, two in possession of Dr. Gaster, seven in the British and three in the Oxford Museum. His edition is based upon Codex Gaster No. 4 as being the most complete copy. We can form an idea of the contents of this Prayer-book when we are told that it comprises besides the daily Siddur (which begins with the night's prayers) and the Maḥazor with the Piyyutim and Seliḥoth, also the *Megillath Bne Hasmonai* (published by Gaster in the *Trans. of the IXth Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, II., p. 17 *sq.*), the Mishna of *Rosh Hashshana*, *Yoma*, *Bêtza* and *Sukkah*, Ibn Gabirol's *Kether Malchuth* and *Azharoth* (for Pentecost), Ibn Ezra's *Seder Abodah* (for the Day of Atonement), Yehuda Hallevi's *Kinnoth* for the Ninth of Ab, a Calendar in Arabic and Hebrew, and finally laws and formulas of marriage, divorce and other legal documents in Aramaic.

Mr. Greenburg has certainly merited our thanks by editing and translating the work for which the title *Passover Haggadah* or *Haggadah Shel Pesach* would have been preferable, as the name of Haggadah is as a rule applied to the entire *Midrashic* or homiletic literature of the Jews. The division into seventy-two chapters has been made by the editor, but does not always strike us as very happy. Nor is the translation always exact and scholarly. The translator has a fair knowledge of the vulgar Arabic, but often missed the meaning of the interpretation based on arithmetical and mystical modes of exegesis. In fact, the Arabic and the Hebrew are often so intermixed in the text that we had better call it an Arabic-Jewish jargon for which the translator must occasionally do some guessing in order to arrive at the true meaning, whereas Mr. Greenburg's translation offers, now and then, words without sense. In chapter 6, for instance, the hallowing of the festivals with a blessing recited over the wine (*Kiddush*) gives the author an opportunity for commenting on each festival in the following way: "Regarding the Festival of the Unleavened Bread, the sages have said (see *Mechilta* and Targum Jonathan to Exodus 12:39)—(Why, by the way, did Mr. Greenburg never take the trouble to look up the rabbinical passages referred to in our treatise? In doing so, he would have essentially helped the reader as well as himself towards a better understanding of the text!)—that the dough the Israelites carried on their shoulder unfermented was blessed,

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and served them as bread for thirty days until the fifteenth of Iyar when the manna first fell which belongs to those miraculous things that were created during the twilight of creation's last day (see Mishna *Aboth*, "Early Sayings of the Fathers," V., 9) and remained in readiness for Israel until its due time arrived to appear." Strange that Mr. Greenburg did not understand this sentence, clear to anyone familiar with Jewish literature. But we note blunders worse than this. The treatise proceeds as follows: "The *Festival of the Weeks* is the one on which they heard the Ten Words, for they had continually counted the days and the weeks, as it is commanded in the Law that their reckoning should be exactly as Moses reckoned; for God had told him: 'This shall be a sign לך that I have sent thee: When thou shalt have brought out the people from Egypt, ye shall serve God on this mountain.' The numerical value of לך is = fifty. The Holy One, blessed be He, informed Moses that after fifty days counted from the going out from Egypt they would hear the Ten Words and receive the Law." Mr. Greenburg in translating לך "unto thee" missed the whole point. On the *Feast of Tabernacles* "*we remember* the cloud of the Divine Presence which surrounded them, as the verse Lev. 23:43 is explained in the Targum." נתדכר is to be taken in the Hebrew, not in the Arabic sense: "we make mention of," as our translator does against the actual fact in the case.

The commentator proceeds: "As to *New Year's Day*, it is the day on which the first man was created שבו נברא אדם הראשון—and on which the world was first conceived of." Compare the expression הרת עלם. This is the meaning of the Arabic ואפתקאר אל עאלם = והעולם נתפקדה בו. Mr. Greenburg translates: on which the first man was created, and the time when the world was not created (lit. was missing). Here, too, Rosh Hashshanah 27*a*, Pesiktha 23, etc., are referred to. See also Abudraham to היום הרת עלם. "The *Day of Atonement* is a time of expiation for Israel when they resemble the ministering angels, neither eat nor drink nor perform any of the vital functions, but occupy themselves only with prayer and the Torah." Here again our translator blunders in the rendering of the Arabic וגמיע אל שרוט: "they fulfill all the conditions required of angels." The writer obviously refers to the prohibited bathing and ointing and sexual intercourse.

A similar blunder we notice on p. 14 of the translation in ch. 14, where the translator failed to see that the writer, after having explained the meaning of חקים and משפטים, dwells on the meaning of those commandments called עדות. Also in ch. 21, p. 22, the translator missed the main point: The author wishes to explain the contrast implied in the likening of Israel to the stars of heaven and the dust of the earth. They are excellent as the stars of heaven in number and perfection in so far as they represent a powerful body of men, although there are many among them reminding by their corruption of the dust of the earth.

On p. 48, ch. 61, we notice another oversight: The Psalmist's verse, כפירים רשו ורעבו (Ps. 34:11), recited at the close of the grace after

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meal, is explained in our treatise as referring to the wicked, the word כפירים being taken as an epithet of the wicked ones, and so the first half of the verse is explained as a curse for the evil-doers and the second half as a blessing for the pious ones.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, pardonable in a beginner, as Mr. Greenburg seems to be, we read the book from beginning to end with a great deal of interest, and hope that he will continue in a field that promises a rich harvest to the toiler.

In tracing the history of the Passover Haggadah, the editor consulted only Zunz and not Landshuth, whose introductory notes to his edition of the Haggada elucidate many points better than Zunz did. The latter was inclined to ascribe a later origin to certain parts, claiming that expressions like ברוך המקום and צא ולמד, found also in *Tanna di be Eliyahu*, belong to the post-Talmudic period, while Landshuth shows that they are Mishnic (as, in fact, the work *Tanna di be Eliyahu* belongs also to the Talmudic period). Zunz admits that the Passover Haggadah was already known in its main form to the compilers of the oldest Midrash *Mechilta* and Pesiktha, and we may go further and maintain that, since the oldest authorities of the Mishnah refer to it as a fixed liturgy, its origin must be sought in *those ancient Chasidean circles long before the Christian era*, where the symposia, or love-meals, חבורות formed the center of study and religious devotion, and the sacred songs and recitations at night were continued until the dawn of day summoned them to prayer again. The Therapeutic vigils described by Philo, and the Song of the Red Sea in the early morning prayer at the close of the Psalm recitation, and again the reference to Moses' Song after the Shmā in the synagogue ritual, afford evidence of the prominence given in ancient times to the Passover story. The Law in Ex. 13:8 commanded the "Haggadah" or the "relating" of it to the various classes of children or pupils: the wise and the simple, the ungodly and the boor. חָכָם וְתָם, רָשָׁע וְשֶׁאֵינוֹ יוֹדֵעַ לִשְׁאוֹל. This very classification of hearers shows that the original "Haggadah" recitation or teaching was not intended simply for the father of the family but for younger companions who were to listen to the Halachic and homiletic interpretations of the Passover law and story. What the Therapeutic Passover Haggadah looked like in the century preceding the Christian era, can be learned from the last seven chapters of the Book of Wisdom (which is nothing but a fragment compiled with two or three other Therapeutic, or Essene, fragments, as I have shown elsewhere). The leading idea of the Passover Haggadah there and in our traditional liturgy is that the punishment of the Egyptians was meted out by Divine justice after the principle of מדה כנגד מדה "measure for measure." Special attention may be called in this connection to the Samaritan Pesach Haggadah (see Dr. S. Kohn, *Zur Sprache, Literatur u. Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, Leipzig [Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes], 1876), which, by the many analogies it presents to the one in use among the Rabbinical Jews, also

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points back to an ancient Chasidean, or pre-Maccabean, origin. Surely, the sublime prayer *Nishmath*, called in the Mishnah Pesachim, X. (p. 117*b*) ברכת השיר "the Closing Benediction of the Song" attributed to Simon Kaipha (St. Peter) or Simeon ben Shatah, the Pharisean Chief under Queen Alexandria Salome, is an old Chasidean production, originally intended to close the devotional songs and Psalm recitations of each vigil right before the early morning.

Only when the Haggadah liturgy was transferred from the Chasidean circles to the family, the order in which we have it was introduced, while at the same time ancient, unintelligible formulas were retained. Such a one is the very first paragraph, commencing in Aramaic: "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate in Egypt. Whosoever is hungry let him come and eat, and whosoever is in need let him come and partake of our Passover feast! This year we are here, next year we shall be in Jerusalem; this year we are in servitude, next year we shall be free." This summons to the needy who happen to pass by to partake of the bread and the festal meal (wine?) can only have issued forth from a company prepared to receive strangers and gathered in a conspicuous place. Behind the closed doors of a simple household these words have no sense.

And here a word must be said concerning the remarkable formula which only the Byzantine and the Yemen Haggadah have in common with the Maimonidean Code, viz., the words preceding the הא לחמא עניא, just quoted, which read: בבהילו יצאנו ממצרים "In haste (compare Targum to Ex. 12:11; Deut. 16:3 = בחפזון) have we gone out of Egypt." Was this sentence recited by the men, before they sat down for the festive gathering while they imitated their fathers carrying the bread on their shoulder and walking around *in haste*, as the pious Jews of the last century still used to do? I believe so. Compare Mechilta and Targum Jonathan's notes to the word חפזון = "haste," showing that there was mysticism connected with the rite!

It would lead too far into detail, were I to follow up closely all the differences our Yemen text and commentary presents compared with the German, Spanish and Eastern ritual. I shall confine myself to a few observations concerning our Yemen Haggadah. It is, as has been pointed out sufficiently by the editor, chiefly based on Maimonides, who is simply quoted in the commentary as "Our Master" רבינו. The Hebrew benedictions—קידוש—and the second—אשר גאלנו—recited over the first and the second cup of wine, contain additional parts composed in pure Hebrew and genuine poetry—parallelism without rhyme—but these are late productions.

The Hallel is divided into 123 verses or semi-verses to correspond with the 123 years of Aaron! It is especially marked for responsive recitations, as the whole liturgy probably was originally to be recited. (See *Pesachim*, 118*a*; *Sukkah*, 38*a*.)

The commentary to the text shows traces of various periods and different traditions. Alongside of the four cups of wine mentioned in the Mishnah, and declared as biblical in the Jerusalemic Talmud and Mid-

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rash, the Gaonic times mention occasionally the custom of drinking five cups, and both customs find their mystic explanations in our commentary, chs. 7 and 8. In fact, the Yemen scholars seem to have had especial predilection for the mystic use of numbers and letters, and it is now the Arabic and then the Hebrew supercommentator who accentuates these things. So are the letters of the word בבהילו in ch. 10; so the number four of the four sons, ch. 14, or the letters of the word אפיקומן (ch. 16), the 210 years of Egyptian servitude (chs. 18 and 22), the names of מלאך and שרקה (ch. 24) and the thirty lines of Moses' Song corresponding to the three decades of the heavenly spheres (ch. 48) and the like mystically explained. A mystic puzzle is נפוֹ = עקב (ch. 17). Occasionally, however, we come across ancient Haggadahs of real value. So, for instance, we are told that there were sacrifices brought within the thrice immured town of Bethar, according to a treatise written by "our master" (Maimonides?) on the Judges in the war of Bar Cochba! or that *Hulda* became a prophetess by constant hiding in the halls of learning (like a "weasel"?!), ch. 17; or that a granddaughter of Metusalah had, while treading upon the mortar IN PLACE of her sick husband, trampled her own children to death, and her cry to God in her great despair brought about the end of the Hebrew servitude in Egypt (ch. 25), a story which I cannot recall having read anywhere else.

There are undoubtedly many such Haggadahs contained in many a Yemen manuscript still inaccessible to the student. And it is here that one seemingly insignificant discovery may throw light upon the whole literature.

It is superfluous to say that אִצְטַגְנִינִן is not = στέγανος, but, according to the simple phonetic rule which dissolves the *n* in *r* and *l*, = ἀστρόλογος. As to אפיקומן it is ἐπίκωμον "after-meal" or dessert (see Jastrow's dictionary). The philological notes of our editor are of no great value. *Sutor, ne ultra crepidam!* Let him adhere to his Arabic studies and unearth for us a hidden world of Hebrew lore, and he will earn our thanks.

K. KOHLER.

NEW YORK, December 16, 1896.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIENTAL STUDY AT ANDOVER.

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At the time when Andover Seminary was founded, in 1807, interest in the study of oriental languages and history was at a low ebb in New England. Even the study of Hebrew had fallen into almost total neglect. Sidney Willard, Professor of Oriental Languages at Harvard College from 1807 to 1831, bears witness to this fact in his *Memoirs of Youth and Manhood*,[1] published in 1855. After speaking of the very small size of his Hebrew classes, and of the discomfiture of some of his pupils when they were asked to point out in the original the words corresponding to those of their translation, he continues: "I suppose there were and are scholars who might excite some zeal in the study of the oriental languages; but the general impression is, and ever has been, at our University, that the value of such learning does not repay the labor and pains necessary to be undergone in its acquirement." And, in fact, at that time it was not felt to be a necessary part of the equipment of a student of theology that he should be able to read his Old Testament in the original languages.

This state of things is all the more noticeable in view of the zeal with which these very studies had been prosecuted in New England in the earlier years.[2] Historians have remarked that the

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, Vol. XVIII., p. 122.

[2] See especially G. F. Moore, "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika," in *ZATW.*, 1888, pp. 1 *sqq.*; an article from which I have derived great help in preparing this paper.

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proportion of graduates of the English universities among the early colonists was a notably large one. They came, too, at a time when interest in oriental, and especially Semitic, study was at its highest point in England—those were the days of Ussher, Pococke, Castell, and the London Polyglot—and brought with them the Puritan's zeal for the study of the Bible. We are hardly surprised, therefore, to learn that by the first Statutes of Harvard College, dating from the years 1642 to 1646, the study not only of Hebrew, but also of Aramaic (Chaldee) and Syriac, was obligatory on all candidates for the first degree. There is abundant evidence of the eagerness, not to say thoroughness, with which these studies were pursued by many in New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Beside the languages just mentioned, we hear of respectable attainments in Arabic, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Persian.

But this enthusiasm for Semitic learning was necessarily short lived. The available working tools were few and imperfect. Libraries were wanting. The remarkable interest in the study of the Old Testament, which had developed so rapidly in the seventeenth century, subsided with almost equal rapidity, both here and in the mother country.[1] Hebrew scholarship, in particular, degenerated greatly, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It was at this time that the fashion prevailed, both in England and America, of discarding the Hebrew vowel-points, and everything else Massoretic, as worthless rubbish; each scholar pronouncing more or less after his own method. It was found convenient to depreciate the value of the cognate languages as an aid to the study of Hebrew, and thus the chief reason for learning them was removed. Other causes combined to make the downfall still more complete. New England scholarship was at this time thrown almost wholly on its own slender resources. The stimulus that would have come to it through contact with the Old World was wanting. The influence of the continental universities was hardly felt. Colonization from England had been at a standstill since the middle of the seventeenth century. The Revolutionary War, with the period of disorder that followed, had of necessity a depressing effect on learned studies in general. And finally, the prevailing tendencies of thought and study in New England at the dawn of the present

[1] See Lee's *Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, London, 1827, p. vii.

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century, even among orthodox theologians, were not especially favorable to biblical research. As for keeping the Semitic languages in their old place in the curriculum of such an institution as Harvard College, that had of course long ceased to be possible. The study of Hebrew continued to be obligatory upon all at Harvard until the year 1785, when it was provided that any student might be released from this requirement on presenting a written request from his parents.[1] Very soon after, the study was made optional; and the instruction in this department, which had for some time past been chiefly nominal, now dwindled to almost nothing. While Eliphalet Pearson, afterward the first teacher of Hebrew at Andover Seminary, was Professor of Oriental Languages at Harvard, from 1786 to 1806, his actual duties were almost wholly in the department of English.

This was the situation in New England at the time when the direction of Semitic studies passed over from the college to the theological seminary. In a letter written in 1847, Professor Stuart says: "When I began to teach the Hebrew language at Andover Seminary [in 1810], there was only one institution in the country where it was taught; which was Dr. Mason's Divinity School in the city of New York. There were neither lexicons, nor grammars, nor any other parts of a Hebrew apparatus to be had, a few scattered copies of Buxtorf's small lexicon and grammar excepted, and some few of Parkhurst's, all of which were in the possession of individuals here and there." He says in another place[2] that there were very few men in the country, at that time, who had a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to enable them to teach it. This picture is slightly overdrawn, to be sure, especially as applied to the Middle States.[3] Still, the situation was a well-nigh hopeless one.

It was a fortunate thing for oriental studies in this country that the theological seminary took them in charge at this time, though the results of the transfer in more recent times have not been in all respects happy. The former interest in these studies had been chiefly theological, and it was from that side only that any speedy renewal of life could be expected for them. The seminary, rather than the university, was the true heir of the Semitic

[1] Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard University*, II., p. 265.

[2] *Christian Review*, Vol. VI., p. 448.

[3] See Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

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learning of the seventeenth century in New England. When the revival of interest actually came, there were present in the seminary the conditions necessary for a rapid and vigorous development, as the event proved.

It was the design of the founders of Andover Seminary to make the study of the Bible in the original languages an especially prominent feature of the course. In the *Constitution and Statutes* of the Seminary, dated August 31, 1807, the following provision is made for instruction in the languages and literature of the Old Testament:

ART. VI. "Lectures shall be given .... on the languages in which the Bible was originally written; on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and on the peculiarities of the language and style of the New Testament, resulting from this version and other causes; on the history, character, use, and authority of the ancient versions and manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments; on the canons of biblical criticism; on the authenticity of the several books of the sacred Code; on the apocryphal books of both Testaments; .... and also critical lectures on the various readings and difficult passages in the sacred writings."

Again, Art. XXIV.:

"Each student, once at least in every year, shall .... be examined in the original languages of the Old and New Testament, and in the Septuagint version of the former."

The purpose of the new institution was declared to be, to train up "learned and able defenders of the gospel," as well as zealous and devout ministers. It was intended that all the students should be college graduates; and, as a matter of fact, there were few, even in the earliest years, who were not. Among the 306 whose names appear in the "broadside" catalogues issued in the years 1813 to 1821,[1] twenty out of every twenty-one were graduates of some college or university; and of the remainder, several had taken two or more years of a college course. The subsequent catalogues continue to show about the same proportion.

The first to give instruction in biblical literature at Andover, as has already been said, was Eliphalet Pearson. He continued in office only one year, beginning his work in September 1808, and resigning it in September 1809, and thus had little opportunity to establish the traditions of a department. Moreover, Professor Pearson, while a man of broad culture and scholarly

[1] I have been able to find only one Annual Catalogue earlier than 1813; namely, that of the year 1810.

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tastes, does not seem to have been especially interested in Semitic, or even Old Testament, studies; and was certainly not an enthusiastic teacher of Hebrew. He had been elected to the chair of Sacred Literature; but as he objected to bearing this title, he was inducted into office as Professor of Natural Theology.

The number of students applying for admission in this first year was larger than had been anticipated. Soon after the beginning of the first term nineteen were in attendance; and before the end of the year the number had reached thirty-six. In a letter dated at Andover September 7, 1808, Professor Pearson's colleague, Dr. Leonard Woods, writes to a friend: "Do inquire for Hebrew Bibles, and Septuagints, and buy all you can find. Also Hebrew and Greek Lexicons. We shall not be able to get enough."

The Hebrew taught by Professor Pearson was of the unpointed variety, of course. The grammar used was probably the small text-book of 47 pages which first appeared anonymously in Cambridge in 1802, bearing the title: *A Hebrew Grammar, selected chiefly from those of Mr. Israel Lyons and the Rev. Richard Grey, D.D.*[1] It has been conjectured plausibly by Professor Moore that Pearson himself was the anonymous editor.[2] A second edition of this book had been issued in 1806, two years before he began his work at Andover. Another grammar which had recently appeared in New England was the one compiled by John Smith, Professor at Dartmouth College, entitled, *A Hebrew Grammar without Points* (Boston, 1803). Smith's book, which in most respects closely resembles its Cambridge predecessor, gives especially careful directions for reading. The following specimen will serve to show what were then the current ideas in New England regarding the pronunciation of Hebrew. The vowel sounds indicated are the *English* sounds; *ē* as in *meet*, *ī* as in *pine*, and so on. Zeph. 3:8:[3] לכן חכו לי נאם יהוה ליום קומי לעד כי משפטי לאסוף גוים לקבצי ממלכות לשפך עליהם זעמי כל חרון אפי כי באש קנאתי תאכל כל הארץ: Pronounced thus: Lĕkĕn hĕkô lī nâm īĕôē līôm quômī lōd kī mĕspĕthī lâshôp gôīm lĕquĕbzhī mĕmĕlkôt lĕspĕk ōlīēm zōmī kĕl hĕrôn âpī kī bâs quĕnâtī tâkĕl kĕl ēârĕzh. For

[1] This was really only an abridgment of the Grammar (with vowel-points) published by Stephen Sewall in 1763, with the same title.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 11.

[3] Grammar, p. 7.

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compiling such grammars as these, hardly any knowledge of Hebrew was necessary. For Hebrew Lexicons, the small compendium by Samuel Pike (London, 1766), and the much larger work by Parkhurst (first ed. 1762),—both without the vowel-points,—seem to have been most in use.[1] The former had been reprinted at Cambridge in 1802; a new edition of the latter had appeared in 1807.

The man who succeeded Professor Pearson was one whose name stands second to none among the founders of Hebrew learning in America. It was largely through the labors of Moses Stuart that a new era was inaugurated in this country for the study of Semitic philology as well as for the exegesis of the Scriptures.

At the time when Stuart was called to Andover, from his pastorate in New Haven, he had only the slightest acquaintance with the Hebrew language. He says of himself, in a letter published in the *Christian Review* (September 1841, p. 448): "I came here with little more than a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet, and the power of making out, after a poor fashion too, the bare translation of some chapters in Genesis, and a few Psalms, by aid of Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, and without the vowel-points. I had not, and never have had, the aid of any teacher in my biblical studies." Fortunately, he had an unusual aptitude for learning languages; and his earlier training, both as a student and as a teacher, had fitted him for making rapid progress in the new field of study.

He began his work as Professor of Sacred Literature in February 1810, being then in his thirtieth year. For the teaching of Hebrew there was of course nothing for him to do at first but to follow the lead of his predecessor and the few other men in New England who knew a little of the language. The current text-books were few in number and woefully meager of contents. There was nothing in them to stimulate to further research, or to suggest that much remained to be done. Stuart's originality soon showed itself, nevertheless. Within a very short time he had begun writing a Hebrew grammar of his own. This was at first given to his pupils in the form of lectures, and was then published in 1813. It was a small grammar of unpointed Hebrew, of 123 pages, 8vo, containing nearly three times as much matter as the text-books of Lyons and Smith. As the preface informs

[1] See, *e. g.*, Stuart's *Grammar* (1813), p. 65.

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us, it was based chiefly on the works of Masclef and Parkhurst; we should hardly expect much from it, accordingly. Still, the author shows himself independent, and advances several theories of his own (an easy matter in those days), both in regard to the pronunciation—in which he shows a decided leaning toward the method belonging to the *pointed* Hebrew—and in the formulation of rules for forms and syntax.

It was at about this time that Stuart began studying the German language.[1] This opened up a new world to him. He began to make his way eagerly into the best available works of German scholars, and recognized almost immediately the inadequacy and the superficial quality of the biblical learning with which he had been acquainted. Having once found his way to the best scholarship, he did his utmost to utilize it and make it available for his pupils, though because of this supposed fondness for the "German skeptics and rationalists" he bore for some time the reputation of being a dangerous innovator, and one who could hardly fail to lead astray the young men of the Seminary.

In spite of his recently published grammar, he soon after this abandoned the unpointed Hebrew for the pointed, and again had recourse to lectures. In the letter quoted above, Stuart says (p. 449) that the length of time during which he taught Hebrew without the vowel-points was five years. This seems to be a slip of the memory, for in his *Grammar* (1821), p. 22, he speaks of his "*seven* years' experience in teaching without the points." In 1813 Gesenius published his *Hebräische Grammatik*, and in 1817 his *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache.* These were epoch-making books, and Stuart was not slow to recognize the fact and to make a most thorough use of the new helps. He also devoted some attention to the study of the Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic languages, while continuing his voracious reading of the best German works. The fruit of these labors appeared in his important *Hebrew Grammar with a copious Syntax and Praxis*, a book of nearly four hundred pages, which was first published in 1821. This grammar was a very long step in advance of anything of the kind hitherto published in the English language. The material embodied in it was derived chiefly from Gesenius. Professor Stuart's own labors on the book, so far as they related to rearrangement, and the addition of further para-

[1] See his account of this beginning in the *Christian Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 448 *sq.*

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digms and illustrative matter, were generally well judged; and the result was an excellent text-book for student and teacher. In the comparatively few cases where he advanced theories and opinions of his own, he can hardly be said to have increased the value of the book. This grammar, which, like its predecessor, was printed at Andover, passed rapidly through several editions.[1] It was also reprinted in England.[2] At the same time with the first edition of this book, he published in a separate pamphlet (in uniform style, so that it could be bound with the grammar) a collection of dissertations by Jahn, Michaelis, Gesenius, and Wyttenbach, on the importance and best method of studying the original languages of the Bible.

In 1829, Stuart published his *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, which, like the *Grammar*, was extensively used, as it merited, and passed through several editions. These, with his translation of *Rödiger's Gesenius' Grammar*, published in 1846, were his chief contributions to Hebrew learning. His other writings, including commentaries on various Old and New Testament books, a grammar of New Testament Greek, and a history of the Old Testament canon, besides numerous pamphlets and magazine articles, cannot be described here.[3]

Stuart's influence on the biblical scholarship of his day was unquestionably very great. His pupil and successor, Professor Calvin E. Stowe, says of him:[4] "The department [of biblical science] was nothing when he began; and before he closed his career, it became the leading branch in all systems of theological culture, and mainly by his example and efforts." It must be borne in mind, to be sure, that this rapid advance was peculiarly favored by the conditions of the time. The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw great progress in these branches of study in all parts of Europe and the United States. German scholarship was now beginning to find its way into this country, by innumerable channels, as never before. The last clause of the quotation from Professor Stowe would apply especially to New

[1] See *ZATW.*, 1888, p. 19.

[2] See Stuart's *Letter to the Editor of the North American Review*, Andover, 1847, p. 19. In Lee's *Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, London, 1827, the author speaks of "the very excellent Hebrew Grammar of Professor Stewart" (*sic*), and cites it from time to time.

[3] A quite full list of his publications in pamphlets and periodicals—amounting in all to more than 2,000 octavo pages—is given in the Appendix to the Memorial Sermon by Professor Park.

[4] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. II., p. 480.

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England. In New York and Philadelphia, and especially at Princeton Seminary, there was beginning a revival of biblical and oriental studies similar to that at Andover, though hardly as extensive. Still, the importance of Professor Stuart's work to all branches of biblical study is not easily overestimated. His services to the science of exegesis were especially noteworthy; not so much because of his own contributions—though these were of very considerable value—as because of the sound method which he introduced. He showed his pupils the way, and was himself always ready to welcome new light, so far as a thorough critical study of the text of Scripture, with grammar and lexicon and all available helps, could bring it.

In the field of Semitic philology and oriental studies in general, Stuart's services to his generation and to the world were of the highest importance. He was not himself a profound scholar. Self-taught, at a time when learning was at a low ebb, and without good working tools until a comparatively late period, he always labored under great disadvantages, which not even his extraordinary energy and quickness of mind could overcome. Moreover, his work often showed an inaccuracy that was due to haste. His self-confidence was very great,[1] and often led him to go forward rashly and assume a leadership for which he was not qualified. A perusal of the controversy over his translation of *Rödiger's Hebrew Grammar* (the 14th edition of Gesenius) will give the best illustration of this.[2] But this very readiness to lead the way into new fields and break new ground, however imperfectly, was a most valuable quality when combined with his power to inspire his pupils, and to introduce them to the methods and the tools of genuine scholarship. He had extraordinary gifts as a teacher. President Wayland, of Brown University, who was one of his pupils, says of him:[3] "I have never known any man who had so great power of kindling enthusiasm for study, in a class. It mattered not what was the subject of investigation, the moment he touched upon it, it assumed an absorbing interest in the eyes

[1] One of his biographers says of him, naïvely: "Professor Stuart was sufficiently conscious of his superior talents and acquisitions, and frequently spoke of them with singular freedom. But his conscious superiority related to those whom he looked upon as below him in intelligence. *Before God*, he was clothed with humility."

[2] *Defence of the Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius against Professor Stuart's Translation* By the Original Translator [T. J. Conant]. New York, 1847. In reply to this: *A Letter to the Editor of the North American Review on Hebrew Grammar.* By M. Stuart. Andover, 1847.

[3] Appendix to Park's Memorial Discourse.

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of all of us." There are many similar testimonials, if they were needed. But a list of Stuart's most noted pupils, not only those who became masters of biblical science, but especially those who soon did such thorough work in the field of oriental studies, would be the best witness.

Before attempting any general survey of the progress of Semitic and other oriental studies at Andover under the leadership of Professor Stuart, two young scholars who were pupils of his during the early years of his work deserve especial mention. In the preface to Stuart's *Hebrew Grammar* of 1821, the author takes occasion to speak of the progress made in Semitic learning by his friend and pupil, Josiah W. Gibbs, who revised most of the proof sheets of the book. Gibbs was one of the first of the many young scholars of especial promise who, coming to Andover to pursue advanced studies, were taken captive by Stuart's enthusiasm. He had been a tutor at Yale College, and came in 1815 to Andover, where he lived for a time in Professor Stuart's family. Here we see him, soon after, deep in his teacher's favorite German studies; then beginning the labors in comparative grammar and lexicography which occupied the greater part of his life.[1] At Stuart's instigation, he undertook the translation of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* (edition of 1815). This translation, which was published at Andover in 1824, with the title, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, including the Biblical Chaldee*, was a most excellent piece of work, and remained the standard Hebrew Lexicon in this country until it was superseded, in 1836, by Robinson's work. Three years after its publication it was reprinted in London. Gibbs' later labors, as Professor of Sacred Literature at New Haven, and as a member of the American Oriental Society, continued to show the same excellent qualities of scholarship and method; though his *magnum opus*, the large Hebrew Lexicon, was brought to an untimely end before it was half finished.[2]

Another temporary inmate of Stuart's household, who was won by him for biblical and oriental studies, was "that prince among scholars," Edward Robinson. He came to Andover in 1821, to see an edition of the *Iliad* through the press, but was soon set on fire by contact with Professor Stuart, and began work with all energy in the new field. In 1823 he was appointed Assistant

[1] See especially the account of his life and work by Professor George P. Fisher, in the *New Englander*, 1861, pp. 606–20.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 610 *sq.*

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Instructor of Hebrew in the Seminary, which position he held for three years.[1] In 1826 he went to Germany, for advanced study, as did many another of Stuart's pupils. After several years of work at the principal German universities, he returned to Andover. In the meantime, two younger pupils of Stuart, Joel W. Newton and Calvin E. Stowe, had been assistants in the department of biblical studies; the former from 1827 to 1829, the latter from 1828 to 1830; each beginning the year after his graduation. Stowe was afterward Professor of Sacred Literature in the Seminary (1852–1864). Upon Robinson's return from Europe, he was at once called to Andover as Professor. The work in the department of biblical study had for some time past been too much for one man to carry, even with the help of an assistant. On the other hand, the Seminary did not then have the means to found a new professorship. So a temporary place was made for Robinson, who was much too valuable a man to be let go; and he accordingly appears in the catalogue issued in January 1831, as "Professor Extraordinarius of Sacred Literature" (in subsequent catalogues the Latin adjective was translated). This position he held until the fall of 1833. His work after leaving Andover is too well known to need mention here.

Such scholars as Robinson and Gibbs were rare exceptions among Stuart's pupils; still, the interest in Semitic studies at Andover, even at this early period, was not confined to a small number, and was of course greatly stimulated by the presence of the few genuine enthusiasts, who were already felt to be pioneers in an important movement. A stimulus to still more widespread interest was afforded by the marked literary activity along the new lines. This fact, especially, helped to make Andover the center of a powerful revival of biblical and oriental studies. The mere fact of the making of such grammars and dictionaries as those of Stuart and Gibbs could not fail to bring new life into biblical scholarship; and this was only the beginning. A new critical-exegetical literature, unlike anything that had preceded it in this country, was growing up, inaugurating a new era for the theological seminaries. The working tools for such study, also, continued to be prepared in an admirable manner. The Andover printers were kept busy. The town had boasted of a press since

[1] His title was "Assistant Instructor in the Department of Sacred Literature." In the catalogues of 1823 and 1824, he is classed among the Resident Licentiates; in 1825, his name is put in the list of the Professors.

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the close of the eighteenth century, and now the facilities for publishing were greatly increased. Before 1821, Stuart's enterprise had procured for the Seminary a Hebrew press, as good as any in this country. As early as the year 1829, fonts of type for printing eleven oriental languages and dialects had been obtained. Grammars, lexicons, chrestomathies, translations, and many lesser treatises were issued in rapid succession.

One of the most interesting features of this revival of biblical learning was the attempt to make a knowledge of the Hebrew language one of the requisites for admission to the Seminary. The printed laws of the institution had provided, from the first, that each candidate for admission as a student, besides presenting evidence that he had completed the full course of study at some college or university, should also "be carefully examined by the Faculty in the learned languages." In the Catalogue of the Seminary dated January 1828 (the first in which the "Terms of Admission" are printed), appears the following:

"Every candidate [for admission] is to be carefully examined, by the Faculty, in the learned languages, and in the Hebrew Grammar, and such portions of the Hebrew Scriptures as shall, from time to time, be required to be studied previously to admission."

Immediately below this is added:

"N. B.—On account of the impossibility of procuring the necessary books for the present year, the examination in Hebrew, which will hereafter be requisite for the admission of students, will be suspended in respect to the class to be admitted November 1828."

It may possibly have been due in part to this added notice, that the next junior class, entering November 1828, numbered sixty men; a considerably larger number than in the years immediately preceding or following.

In the catalogue of 1829 the statement regarding the amount of Hebrew required for admission is made more specific:

"Every candidate .... must be prepared to sustain an examination in Hebrew Grammar, and in the Hebrew Chrestomathy of Professor Stuart, so far as the extracts from Genesis and Exodus extend."[1]

The following page contains a notice of some length, outlining a plan by which the necessary Hebrew text-books—grammar, lexicon, and chrestomathy—may be "deposited" at the various colleges for the use of needy students; the latter being expected

[1] Nearly 23 pages (8vo) of Hebrew, quite closely printed.

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to pay for them at the rate of twenty-five cents a year for each book used. The announcement is also made here that gratuitous instruction in Hebrew will be provided in Andover during the month of October,[1] in each year, for the benefit of those who may not have been able to make the requisite preparation in that language.

The requirements for admission continued to be printed in this same form in the succeeding catalogues, including that for the year 1833 to 1834. In the catalogue of 1835, the Hebrew clause is omitted, without comment, from the list of requirements, and does not appear again.

In the meantime, the new regulation had not had the effect of frightening away students from the Seminary. The number entering the junior class in the year 1831 was seventy-nine; in 1834 the number was eighty. The list of those pursuing advanced studies (Resident Licentiates) shows also a decided gain at about this time. In the years 1825 to 1829 the average number was three; for the years 1829 to 1836 the average was eight. In the catalogue of 1829 to 1830 there appear among the Resident Licentiates the names: "Rev. Barnas Sears, Professor of Languages in the Lit. and Theol. Sem., Hamilton, N. Y.,"[2] and "Rev. S. S. Whitman, Professor of Hebrew and Bib. Lit. in do." There also appears in this list the name of Oliver A. Taylor, afterward (1837) Assistant Teacher of Hebrew in Andover Seminary.

Among the undergraduate students at Andover in the period during which Hebrew was required for admission were Bela B. Edwards, afterward Professor of Hebrew in the Seminary; Horatio B. Hackett, the well-known scholar; Elias Riggs, who published an Aramaic manual the year of his graduation; and others who afterwards did good work in the field of oriental scholarship. Hackett, though busied chiefly with the New Testament while Professor at Newton and Rochester, continued his study of the oriental languages, especially Aramaic, Syriac, and Sanskrit. His translation of Winer's *Grammar of the Chaldee Language* (Andover, 1845) was a valuable piece of work. He also published an excellent Hebrew exercise book.[3] It was a

[1] The regular time for the anniversary, as also of the college anniversaries, was the latter part of September; the seminary year began five weeks later.

[2] Afterward Professor at Newton Seminary.

[3] A list of his works in the *Memorials of H. B. Hackett*, edited by G. H. Whittemore. Rochester, 1876; pp. 298 *sqq.*

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cherished plan of his to prepare a Syriac Grammar and Chrestomathy, but this he was never enabled to do.

After the abandonment of this bold attempt to push back the elementary instruction in Hebrew upon the colleges, the curriculum of the Seminary shows no striking features. The first time that an outline of the Course of Study appears in the Annual Catalogue is in the one issued in January 1839. The part of the announcement relating to Old Testament studies reads as follows:

Junior Class: Stuart's Hebrew Grammar.—Chrestomathy.—Written exercises, including translations from English into Hebrew.—Study of the Hebrew Bible.—Principles of Hermeneutics. . . . .—Hebrew Exegesis, twice a week in the summer term.—Critical and Exegetical Compositions.

Middle Class: Instruction on special topics in Sacred Literature.

Senior Class: (No provision for Old Testament study.)

Advanced Class: Critical and Exegetical Lectures on the Hebrew Testament.[1]

In the catalogue issued in January 1847, this outline of the course of study is slightly modified. The announcement for the junior class is introduced by the words: *Sacred Literature*, five days in a week; and for the middle class is added: *Exegesis*, one day in a week, of the Hebrew Scriptures in the winter term, and of the New Testament in the summer term.

In the following year (1848) *Hackett's Hebrew Exercises*[2] is included in the junior year studies, in addition to Stuart's *Hebrew Chrestomathy*. At the same time the statement regarding the instruction of the middle class in Sacred Literature is dropped; so that, so far as the announcements in the catalogue are concerned, the study of the Bible in the original languages was henceforth prescribed only for the junior class. It was in this year that Professor Stuart resigned his professorship, because of advancing age, and retired from active service.

In the catalogue of the following year a course in "Biblical Geography and Antiquities" is announced for the junior class. This announcement, or its equivalent, appears also in the subsequent catalogues.

[1] This is the only catalogue (until 1881) in which the members of an "advanced class,' as distinct from Resident Licentiates, are entered. In subsequent years only the latter title appears in the catalogue. In 1839 the number in the advanced class was 12. The number of Resident Licentiates was two in the year 1839, nine in 1840. The above statement of the course of study remained unchanged, however, until 1842.

[2] *Exercises in Hebrew Grammar and Selections from the Greek Scriptures to be Translated into Hebrew.* By H. B. Hackett. Andover, 1847. (A most excellent book, and one that could be profitably used at the present day.)

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"Chaldee of the Old Testament" appears for the first time as a prescribed study in the catalogue of the year 1850. This new feature vanishes as suddenly as it came, however, and is not seen again.[1] The same is true of another innovation in this catalogue, namely, the introduction of *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, translated by Stuart*,[2] as the text-book for the juniors. This still continued to be used, however.

The statement of courses remained as above until the year 1853, when a thoroughgoing revision was made.

It is needless to say that these annual announcements, never a very satisfactory index of work done in the Seminary, are especially inadequate to give any idea of the variety and extent of the studies carried on by Professor Stuart's pupils. "Elective" courses, though common, had no place in the catalogue. There were always gathered about Professor Stuart a few enthusiastic students, eager not only to increase their knowledge of Hebrew, but also to study the cognate languages. He had himself never pursued his studies in these languages very far; but he was excellently fitted to interest his pupils in them, and give them a start in the right direction. The number of those who began Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic under his guidance was not small; other oriental languages, such as Ethiopic, Persian, and Sanskrit, received occasional attention; and there was more than the usual amount of interest in oriental history and geography and kindred subjects. Mention has already been made of the Aramaic manual published by Elias Riggs. It was prepared by him while he was a student in the Seminary, and published at about the time of his graduation, with the title, "*A Manual of the Chaldee Language;* containing a Chaldee Grammar, chiefly from the German of Professor G. B. Winer; a Chrestomathy, consisting of selections from the Targums, and including the whole of the Biblical Chaldee, with Notes; and a Vocabulary, adapted to the Chrestomathy. By Elias Riggs, A.M. Boston, 1832." It contains 180 large octavo pages. The preface, written by Professor Stuart, commends the book, and emphasizes the fact that it is the first thing of the kind in English. Stuart had previously alluded to Riggs, in the preface to his *Hebrew Chrestomathy* (1832), as one who was "laying a foundation broad and deep in respect to the oriental

[1] This language was constantly taught in the Seminary, however, both by Stuart and by his successors. See, *e. g.*, Park's *Memoir of Bela B. Edwards*, Vol. I., p. 303.

[2] The ill-fated translation of 1846, mentioned above.

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languages generally." Of course this manual was little more than a compilation; still it was a most useful piece of work, and excellently adapted to its purpose. It passed through four editions. Another illustration, of a somewhat different kind from those already furnished, may be given. At the public exercises of the thirty-second anniversary of the Seminary, September 2, 1840, Charles C. Jewett,[1] a member of the senior class, presented an essay on "The Utility of the Arabic Language to the Interpreter of the Old Testament." The manuscript of this address, preserved in the Seminary library, shows plainly that its author had himself made some progress in Arabic. Two of his classmates, Daniel Wight and Joel Dickinson, presented essays at the same time on different phases of Mohammedanism.

When the American Oriental Society was founded, in 1842, graduates of Andover constituted a large part of its membership, and were among the principal contributors to its *Journal*, from the first. In the first list of its officers, five out of thirteen were Andover men. In the roll of membership published in the first volume of the *Journal* (1849), the names of Stuart's pupils number twenty-three in a total of sixty-eight. Among these are teachers of oriental languages, biblical scholars of note, and missionaries in eastern lands, whose translations of the Scriptures have won the admiration of scholars, and whose contributions to oriental learning in other ways have not been small.

Professor Stuart continued in active service for thirty-eight years. During this time his duties included instruction in the New Testament as well as in the Old. On the other hand, a part of the work in Hebrew was carried by assistants since 1823. Besides Robinson, Newton, Stowe, and Taylor, who have already received mention, D. Talcott Smith was assistant teacher of Hebrew during the years 1833 to 1836. Stuart was relieved of the work of teaching in 1848. From that time until his death, less than four years later, he was engaged in literary labors.[2]

The work of his successor, Bela B. Edwards, who died in the same year with him, may properly be included in this survey of the "beginnings of oriental study at Andover." Edwards was both a pupil and a colleague of Stuart, and singularly well fitted to take up the work the other had laid down. A graduate of the

[1] Afterward the first Librarian of the Boston Public Library.

[2] Especially his Commentaries on Daniel (1850), Ecclesiastes (1851), and Proverbs (1852).

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Seminary in 1830, he was appointed in 1837 Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature. This position he occupied eleven years. From 1848 until his death, in 1852, he was Professor of Sacred Literature. He was a more thorough scholar than Stuart, especially in the Semitic languages. His friend Professor Hackett, writing in 1856, says of him: "I doubt whether any teacher in this country has ever surpassed him as a grammarian."[1] He was deeply interested in oriental studies, and appreciated their importance to the student of the Bible. In a review of the second edition of Stuart's *Hints on Prophecy*, published in the first volume of the *New Englander* (1843), he says: "He who would be an apt interpreter of the Hebrew prophets, must travel awhile with the Bedaween. He must look into such books as Lane's *Egypt*, the *Arabian Nights*, and Burckhardt's *Journals*." He himself pursued such studies as these with eagerness. Soon after beginning his work of teaching at Andover he gave especial attention for some time to the Arabic language, under the guidance of a missionary recently returned from the East. A few years later he writes to a friend that he has read through the *Koran*, from beginning to end, in that language. In the fall of 1846, while traveling in Europe, he attended a meeting of the German Oriental Society at Jena, at which he presented a paper on the "Condition of Oriental Studies in the United States." This paper, which contains much that is interesting, is printed in Park's *Memoir of Edwards*, Vol. I., pages 307 *sqq*.

Professor Edwards' chief contributions to oriental learning were in the form of scattered essays and reviews in numerous periodicals. The more ambitious labors he had planned—commentaries, and treatises on Hebrew and Arabic grammar—were brought to an end by his untimely death. During a considerable part of his life his time was more or less occupied with editorial labors. He had charge of a succession of important periodicals: the *Quarterly Register*, the *American Quarterly Observer*, the *Biblical Repository*, and the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The two last named were published for a part of the time at Andover.

While Edwards was traveling in Europe and America, during the years 1845 to 1847, Henry B. Smith (afterward Professor in Union Seminary) was engaged as temporary instructor in

[1] Park's *Memoir of Edwards*, Vol. I., p. 301.

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Hebrew at Andover. From 1848 to 1852 Edward Robie was the assistant.

The deep interest in oriental studies felt by Professors Stuart and Edwards is nowhere better illustrated than in the Seminary library. A glance at the list of books acquired in their department during the years 1820 to 1850 suffices to show that the Seminary was kept in close touch with the best oriental scholarship of the day. In addition to the books more directly connected with biblical study, the principal publications in the wider field of eastern languages and literature are represented in such number and variety as is surprising, in view of the limited resources of the library. To students at Andover at the present day, this is perhaps the most noticeable reminder of the revival of Semitic learning in the early part of the present century.

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DIE NABATAEISCHE GRABINSCHRIFT VON PETRA.

von J. Barth, Ph.D.,

Professor der Semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Berlin.

Während Hegra uns eine grössere Anzahl nabataeischer Inschriften aufbewahrt hat, deren Uebermittlung wir Doughty und Euting verdanken, hat Petra den Reisenden keine erheblichere epigraphische Ausbeute gewährt. Doughty berichtet in seinem Reisewerke[1] nur von *einer* Inschrift, die er dort gesehen, von der er aber keine genauere Kenntniss genommen hat; es ist dies nach seiner Beschreibung eben die Inschrift, von der weiterhin die Rede sein wird. Von noch einer zweiten erzählte man ihm dort bei seinem kurzen Aufenthalt; doch hat er sie, da sie etwas entlegen sein sollte, nicht gesehen. Jene erstgenannte Inschrift in nabataeischer Schrift war vor 40 Jahren schon von dem englischen Capitain Frazer in etwas uncorrecter Art[2] copirt und nach dessen Tod von M. Hogg ohne Commentar, 1856, in den *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* veröffentlicht worden. Sie war inzwischen in Vergessenheit gerathen. Erst Euting machte de Vogüé auf dieselbe aufmerksam, der darauf im *Journ. asiat.* 1896 (Sept.-Oct.) p. 304 *sqq.* eine Erklärung derselben nach der alten unvollkommenen Copie gab. Inzwischen aber erhielt er durch Vermittlung von P. Lagrange, Director der école biblique in Jerusalem, eine ausgezeichnete von Hugues Vincent neuerdings genommene Copie der Inschrift und ausserdem einen Abklatsch, welch letzterer aber erst bei der späteren Veröffentlichung im *Corp. Inscript. Semit.* Verwendung finden soll. Die neue Copie lässt nach dem autoritativen Urtheil de Vogüé's keinen Zweifel über den Werth jedes einzelnen Buchstabens, und so gibt er denn im November-Dezember-Heft (1896) des *Journ. asiat.*, pp. 485–96, unter Beifügung einer genauen Reproduction der neuen Copie eine erneute Besprechung der Inschrift. Wenn ich nach der Erklärung der Inschrift seitens des um die aramaeische Epigraphik hochverdienten Gelehrten zu

[1] *Travels in Arabia deserta*, I., p. 42.

[2] Die Inschrift ist wegen ihrer hohen Lage schwer erreichbar.

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derselben nochmals das Wort nehme, so geschieht es, um an mehreren Stellen eine von der seinigen abweichende Deutung des Inhalts, an andern eine Ergänzung derselben zu versuchen.

Ueber die Lage und Gestaltung des Grabs schreibt de Vogüé (pp. 486–7) nach seinen Gewährsmännern:

"Le tombeau se trouve dans une vallée latérale du *Ouadi-Mousa*[3] appelée par les Arabes *Ouadi-Iché* . . . Sa façade, taillée dans le roc, est pleine: elle est décorée d'un ordre composé de deux demi-colonnes engagées, comprises entre deux pilastres d'angle: les chapiteaux ne sont qu'ébauchés comme la plupart des chapiteaux de Pétra et comme tout ceux de Hégra: ils étaient destinés à être corinthiens; ils supportent une architrave et une frise franchement grecques: sur cet entablement s'appuie l'embryon d'un second ordre dont les colonnes sont réduites à un chapiteau et à une base séparés par un fût de moins d'un mètre de hauteur. Une disposition semblable se trouve à Hégra, dans le tombeau dit *Beit Akhræmah* (Doughty, *Travels*, I., p. 114). . . . Le style est absolument celui des monuments nabatéens datés du 1er siècle. La largeur de la façade est d'environ dix mètres, sa hauteur paraît être d'une vingtaine de mètres. La partie inférieure de la façade s'est écroulée jusqu'à une hauteur de six mètres, de sorte que le monument semble suspendu en l'air. . . . La façade regarde le soleil levant.

"A l'intérieur l'hypogée se compose de deux salles carrées; la première a dix mètres en tous sens; le second huit: cette dernière renferme deux *loculi*, l'un à l'ouest, l'autre au nord. Devant le tombeau s'étend un espace libre, limité au nord et au sud par la paroi du rocher régulièrement taillé; à l'est, cette *area* rejoint le fond de la vallée, où poussent encore des arbustes variés. Le P. Lagrange n'a remarqué dans cet espace aucun débris de constructions."

Die Inschrift, die 5 Zeilen enthält, ist in einer Höhe von 6 Metern, 35 Cm. vom Boden auf dem erhalten gebliebenen Theile der Façade angebracht; die Buchstaben sind etwa 20 Cm. hoch, sind regelmässig und gut erhalten. Eigenthümlich ist, wie de Vogüé bemerkt, dass nicht bloss finales ץ, sondern auch eine besondere finale Form des ש hier erscheint. Der Text der Inschrift ist:

1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא זעירא די גוא מנה די בה בתי מקברין ועבידת גוחין

2 וכרכא די קדמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארות מיא וצהותא וטוריא

3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם

[3] Das ist der heutige Namen von Petra.

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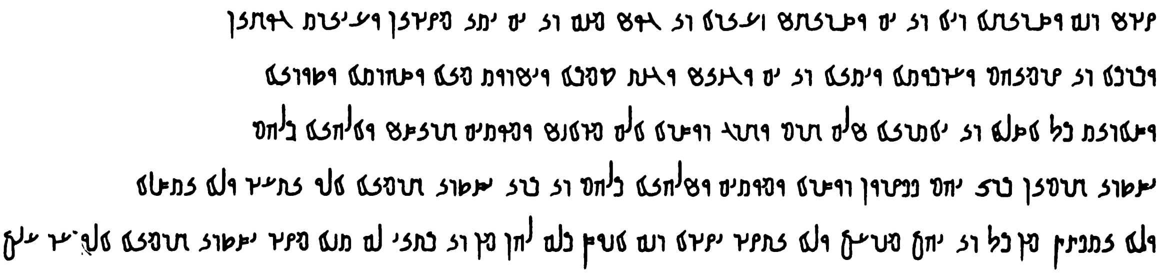

1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא זעירא די גוא מנה די בה בתי מקברין ועבידת גוחין
2 וכרכא די קדמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארות מיא וצהותא וטוריא
3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם
4 בשטרי חרמין כדי בהם פפקדון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם די כדי בשטרי חרמיא אלו יתעבד ולא יתשלא
5 ולא יתפצץ מן כל די בהם מנדעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוש כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשטרי חרמיא אלו עד עלם

DIE NABATAEISCHE GRABINSCHRIFT VON PETRA.

(*Verbessert nach einer Copie von Hugues Vincent.*)

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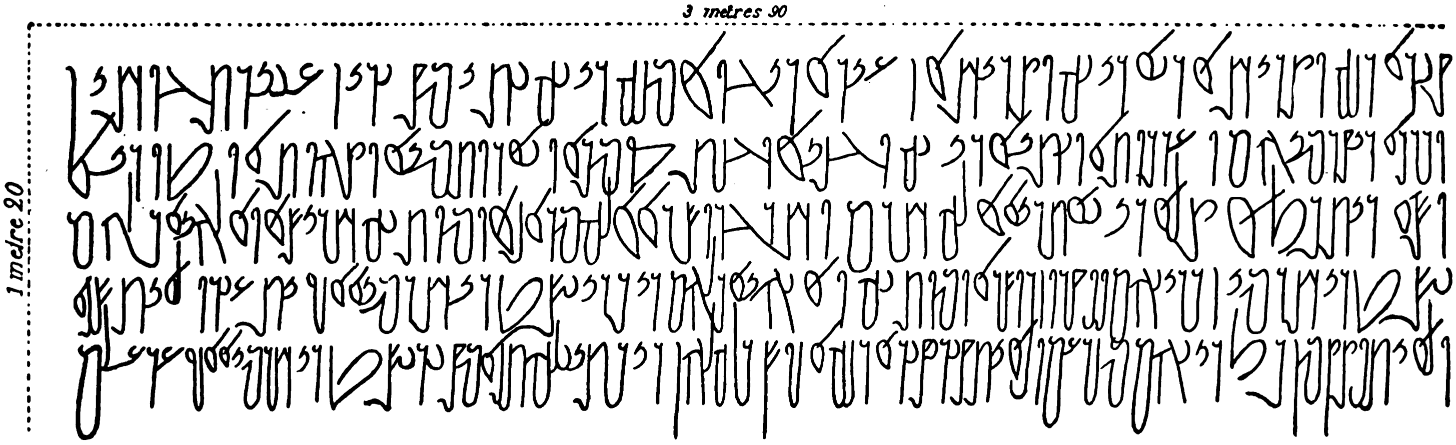

DIE NABATAEISCHE GRABINSCHRIFT VON PETRA.

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4 בשטרי חרמין כדי בהם פפקדון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם
די כדי בשטרי חרמיא אלו יתעבד ולא יתשלא

5 ולא יתפצץ מן כל די בהם מנדעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוש
כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשטרי חרמיא אלו עד עלם

Im Einzelnen ist hierzu zu bemerken:

Z. 1 קברא steht hier wie z. B. auch *CIS.*, II., 197, 1 für eine grössere Grabanlage; an letzterer Stelle wechselt damit (Z. 6) das in den nabat. Inschriften häufige כפרא für denselben Begriff.

Über צריחא = ضَرِيحٌ vgl. Clermont-Ganneau bei Rénan, *documents épigr. recueillis* par Doughty, p. 43, Nöldeke bei Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften*, p. 55, G. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, 9, 332. Im Arabischen wird das Wort namentlich in poetischer Sprache ohne Weiteres für "Grab" gebraucht, z. B. Ḥansâ', 33, 10, in dem Saǵ' Ja'qûbî, II., 6, 13; Mas'ûdî, I., 66, 1; I Athîr, IV., 382, 9. Die inschriftliche Bedeutung wird durch unser Denkmal, wie schon de Vogué bemerkt hat, völlig sicher gestellt; es bedeutet hier die zwei Grabsäle, deren einer (s. oben S. 268) 10, der andere 8 Quadratmeter Inhalt hat. In der palmyrenischen Inschrift de Vogué, *Inscr. sémit.*, No. 67, und der von Nöldeke, *ZA.*, 9, 264 *sqq.*, veröffentlichten (Z. 3) scheint מערתא im gleichen Sinn zu stehen (קברא ומערתא די בגוה); vgl. auch das entsprechende hebr. מְעָרָה Gen. 23:9.

די בה בתי מקברין "in welcher die Begräbnisstätten sind," bezieht sich nach der vorhandenen Gestaltung der Säle zunächst auf den kleineren Grabsaal, in welchem sich zwei *loculi* befinden. Es ist aber sicher anzunehmen, dass späterhin ein umfassenderer Gebrauch von beiden Räumen für Gräber beabsichtigt war.— מקברין will de Vogué, p. 490, als ein Participium pass. erklären.[4] Es ist mir aber unwahrscheinlich, dass das Wort von dem heǵrenischen מקברתא, *CIS.*, II., 196, 1, מקברת עבישת, No. 181, zu trennen sei; es wird ein entsprechendes masculines Abstractum sein.[5] Zu dem doppelten Plural in der Stat.-constr.-Verbindung vgl. שטרי חרמיא in Z. 4.

עבידת für eine solche *Herrichtung* bei einem Grabe hat auch die nabat. Inschrift, *CIS.*, II., 196, 7.—גוחין "Grabnischen" ist durch das unlängst aufgetauchte palmyr. גמחין (in der von

[4] Anders früher, p. 309.

[5] Vgl. das jüdische בית הקברות für einen Friedhof.

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Nöldeke, a. a. O., veröffentlichten Inschrift) als ein Fremdwort erkannt worden, für dessen Ursprung Jensen auf assyr. kimaḫḫu[6] hingewiesen hat. Vgl. auch G. Hoffmann, a. o. a. O.[7]

In Zeile 2 werden noch eine Anzahl Dinge ausser dem Grabe den Göttern geweiht. Man ist natürlich von vornherein nicht geneigt, den Kreis derselben über die nächste Umgebung des Grabes hinausgehend zu denken. Desshalb erklärt de Vogué כרכא, das sonst im Aram. "Stadt" bezeichnet, als eine blosse "enceinte" und erinnert daran, dass der Herzog von Luynes (*Voyage d'exploration à la mer morte*, p. 299, pl. 46) von einem Grab berichtet, vor welchem eine von einem Porticus umgebene area sich befindet. Ein solcher umschlossener Vorraum vor dem Grabe solle auch mit כרכא gemeint sein. Man würde das zur Noth gelten lassen können, wenn nicht die weiteren Objecte, die in dieser כרכא sein sollen, z. B. בתיא, גניא, בארות מיא, טוריא auf so engem Raum vor dem Grabe nicht beisammen gedacht werden können. De Vogué sieht sich daher gezwungen, allen diesen Wörtern Bedeutungen zu geben, die sie sonst nicht oder nur in specifischem Zusammenhang haben: בתיא sollen nach ihm "Gruben vor dem Grab" (nach בתי מקברין Z. 1), גניא nicht "Gärten," sondern "Blumenanpflanzungen," צהותא "sonnige Stellen, Terassen," טוריא (nach einer Etymologie von תור, דור) "Mauern" bedeuten. Die gleichzeitige Umdeutung einer Reihe meist wohlbekannter Wörter macht diese Auffassung unwahrscheinlich. Dazu kommt noch, dass am Abschluss der Aufzählung gesagt wird (Z. 3) די באתריא אלה "die sich in diesen Orten befinden," also nicht ein umschlossener einheitlicher Platz, sondern eine Mehrheit von Orten vorausgesetzt wird.

Die Einbeziehung eines weiteren Umfangs von Dingen, als ihn de Vogué annehmen will, in die Weihung der Gräber findet sich —wenn auch nicht in dem Masse, wie zufolge unserer Inschrift

[6] Dem er die Bedeutung "Grab" beilegte.—Auch gimaḫu belegt Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, S. 587, der als Bedeutung "wahrsch. Sarg" ansetzt. Aus den assyrischen Belegen liess sich eine genauere Bedeutung auch nicht gewinnen, bevor das aram. Aequivalent auftauchte.

[7] Der fremde Ursprung des Worts liesse auch die Identität des mischnischen כוכין, das dieselbe Bedeutung hat, mit גוחין als möglich erscheinen; auch G. Hoffmann, a. a. O., S. 352 vermuthet sie. Vgl. targ. גישרא und כישורא "Balken" mit assyr. gušûru, aus dem sie abzuleiten sind; גֻּמָּץ, כומצא und קומצא für "Grube" (*Etymologische Studien* 34), wozu S. Fränkel noch weiter arab. قُرْمُوص verglichen hat;—aram. כרגא aus pers. خَراج (Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, 283) u. A. m.

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hier anzunehmen ist—bei den *Römern*. Marquardt, *das Privatleben der Römer*[2], S. 369, bemerkt:

"Zu dem Denkmal selbst gehört bisweilen ein Grundstück mit Aeckern und Gärten, welche mit einer Mauer umfriedigt und zur Unterhaltung des Grabes, zur Versorgung desselben mit Speisen, Rosen und andern Erfordernissen bestimmt sind. Solche Gräber hiessen *cepotaphia*. Es gehören zu ihnen aber oft noch verschiedene andere Localitäten, eine *ustrina* (oder *ustrinum*), *aediculae* mit Statuen der Verstorbenen, ein Gebäude für die Versammlung beim Leichenmahle, eine *area* vor dem Monumente, Lauben oder Pavillons, Brunnen, endlich ein Häuschen für einen oder mehrere liberti (*taberna*), welche für freie Wohnung und Unterhalt aus den Revenüen des Grundstücks die Aufsicht über die ganze Anlage übernahmen."

Eine derartige Parallele empfiehlt es jedenfalls, גניא als "Gärten" בתיא als "Häuser" zu fassen, wenn wir auch einen Einfluss der römischen auf die nabataeischen Grabesriten nicht nachweisen können. Auch "Brunnen" finden sich ja in unserer Inschrift wie dort. Neben den Brunnen werden צהותא genannt. Ich leite es nicht mit de Vogüé von صَدِيَ "dursten" ab, sondern stelle es zum arab. صُهْوَة "the like of a cave, or cavern in a mountain, in which is water of the rain, ... or *the places in which water wells forth*" (Lane, u. d. W.) Dafür spricht die Nachbarschaft von בארות מיא an unserer Stelle.—Betreffs גנת סמכא (de Vogüé: "*triclinium*") wage ich keine Deutung.—טוריא "Berge" sind wohl die Felsen, die an zwei Seiten, im Norden und Süden, den freien Platz vor dem Grab begrenzen.—ערכותא fasst de Vogüé nach der phoen. Inschrift von Byblos (*CIS.*, I., 1, Z. 6 והערכת זא) als "Säulenanlage," was hier wie dort wohl möglich, wenn auch nicht sicher ist.—So verbleibt noch כרכא im Beginn der Zeile. Im Hinblick darauf, dass nachher Gärten, Brunnen, Wasseransammlungen, Berge und noch ein "Rest aller anderer Dinge" genannt ist, dass von einer *Mehrzahl von Orten* geredet wird, glaube ich dass eine mit der Grabanlage in Verbindung stehende kleinere Ortschaft die zu Petra gehörte oder ein Stadtheil Petra's gemeint sei. Sie müsste sich in der Ebene vor dem Grab befunden haben und in engen Beziehungen zu derselben gestanden sein.

Z. 3. ושארית כל אצלא "Und den Rest von Allem ganz und gar." אצלא vergleicht de Vogüé mit hebr. אֵצֶל. Es ist vielmehr = arab. أَصْلًا, einer der mehrfachen Arabismen auf den

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nabat. Inschriften wie פ, עיר = غَيْر, יעיר = يغيّر, *CIS.*, II., 206, 8, das مِـنَ البيانِ, 209, 5, נשיב "Art von Verwandten" = نَسِيب, 207, 9.[8] Wir haben in ihm eine Spur der arabischen Flexion in diesen Inschriften ausserhalb der Eigennamen, was bei einem herübergenommenen formelhaften Ausdruck nicht überrascht.

חרם als Bezeichnung der Weihung ist auf den nabat. Inschriften häufig. Dagegen erscheint חרג hier zum ersten Male in offenbar paralleler Bedeutung. Vogüé denkt an حَرْج "terreur, tremblement" und übersetzt "est consacré *avec imprécation.*" Wir werden vielmehr das arabische حَرِجَ علىَّ "es ist mir *verboten*" حَرِجَتِ الصلاةُ عليها "das Gebet ist ihr (wegen ihrer Unreinheit) verboten" heranzuziehen haben, von dem auch das bekannte يمينٌ مُحَرِّجةٌ "schwerer Eid" Agh. V., 173, 14, Tab. III., 476, 20 sich ableitet. Tab. III., 475, 13, gibt ʿIsâ dem Chalifen al-Mahdî einen Abdicationsbrief mit einer solchen يمينٌ مُحَرِّجةٌ, in welcher u. A. stand, wenn er sein Wort nicht halte, so sei jede Frau, die er jetzt oder innerhalb 30 Jahren haben würde, طالقٌ ثلثًا البتّةَ طلاقَ الحَرَجِ d. h. so von ihm geschieden, dass ihre Wiederheirathung ihm *verboten sei.*

דושרא ist genugsam bekannt; auch מותבא erscheint als nabat. Gott schon *CIS.*, II., 198, 3–4.—Dagegen ist חרישא bisher anderweitig nicht nachgewiesen. Als arabischen Personennamen vergl. الحُرَيش I Doreid, 157, 181.

פפקדון. Auffällig erscheint hier die sonst im Südwesten[9] dem sogen. galiläischen Dialekt eigene vollere Endung ון statt ו.—Zur Sache erinnere man sich daran, dass die Weihungsschriftstücke—wenigstens bisweilen—im Tempel der Götter niedergelegt wurden, wie *CIS.*, II., 209, 9, zeigt (כנסחת דנה יהיב בבית קישה).

[8] Vgl. auch Nöldeke bei Euting, *Nabat. Inschr.*, S. 78.—Dahin gehört auch das auf der Inschrift von Taimâ, *CIS.*, II., 113*a*, Z. 13, vorkommende סותא "Stele," das ich unabhängig von G. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, XI., 236, als aus صُوَّةٌ herübergenommen angesehen hatte. Im Hebr. entspricht צִיּוּן 2 Kgs. 23:17; Ezek. 39:15. Bei der Umschreibung in das Aramaeische wurde das ص ungenau durch ס wiedergegeben.

[9] Abgesehen vom Syrischen, Mand. u. e. A. Vgl. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, S. 223, Anm. 2.

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ולא יתשלא "und nicht versäumt werde." Zur Nichtinsertion des ת hinter den Zischlaut vgl. יתזבן gleichfalls in einer nabat Inschrift, *CIS.*, II., 208, 4.

אלו in Z. 4 und 5 (neben אלה Z. 3) entspricht dem אֱלוֹ der Mischna, dem ܐܠܗ(ܝ) im christl.-Palästinischen. Man wird auch das aethiop. 'elô(ntû) zu vergleichen haben.

Z. 5 יתפצץ hat, wie schon de Vogué bemerkt, im Syr. und jüdisch Aramaeischen kein Aequivalent in der Bedeutung "unterlassen," oder "wegnehmen." Est ist wohl wieder ein Arabismus: فَضَّ = كَسَرَ; "es werde Nichts weggebrochen, weggenommen"; vgl. نقض "einreissen" und نَقَضَ العَهْدَ.—להן die übliche Ausnahmepartikel in nabat. Inschriften, z. B. *CIS.*, II., 208, 3; 210, 3, 6; 212, 4, deren zweites Element הן "wenn" No. 212, 5, und z. B. in בלעדהן "ausser wenn," 209, 6, vorliegt; die Zusammenfügung wie *nisi*. Bekanntlich auch im bibl.-Aram., namentlich Daniel öfter, auch Ezra 5:12.—(מקבר) תנא will de Vogué im Hinblick auf Verbindungen wie שטר מוהבתא, No. 204, 3, von נתן ableiten = "concession." Indessen selbst diese Wurzel einmal zugegeben, könnte ein Nomen aus ihr im Stat. constr. nicht auf א endigen. Es entspricht vielmehr dem mischnischen תנאי = jerusal.-targ. תנאה = syr. ܬܢܝܐ "Clausel, Verabredung, Bedingung," neben welchem in der Mischna als Verb התנה "eine Clausel, Bedingung machen" steht. Die *Form* des Nomens entspricht in unserer Inschrift dem תנאה der jerusal. Targumim, wozu hier der Stat.-constr. vorliegt.

Die Uebersetzung der Inschrift ist demnach:

Z. 1. Diese Grabeinrichtung, der grosse Saal in ihr, der kleine Saal, der (weiter) innen als jener ist, (und) in welchem die Grabplätze und die Herrichtung von Grabnischen sind,

Z. 2. Und der Ort (Orttheil?) vor ihnen und die Säulenanlage und die Häuser in ihm und die Gärten und der . . . garten und die Wasserbrunnen und die Wasseransammlungen und die Berge

Z. 3. Und alles Übrige ganz und gar was an diesen Orten (sich befindet) ist geheiligt und geweiht dem Dûšarâ, dem Gott unseres Herrn und dem מותבא und dem חרישא und allen Göttern

Z. 4. In Weihurkunden gemäss dem was in ihnen steht. Und es haben Dûšarâ und alle Götter befohlen, dass gemäss diesen Weihurkunden gethan, und nicht unterlassen

Z. 5. Und nicht weggenommen werden solle irgend etwas von dem, was in ihnen steht, und dass in dieser Grabanlage bis in Ewig

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keit kein Mensch begraben werden solle ausser Der, für den eine Stipulation hinsichtlich des Begräbnisses in diesen Weiheurkunden niedergeschrieben ist.

Das April-Heft der *Revue biblique* (S. 230–38), das mir nach Vollendung der Correctur zugeht, enthält eine nochmalige Erklärung der Inschrift seitens de Vogüé's, die aber nur eine verkürzte Reproduction seines anderen Commentars ist.

Lagrange theilt ebendaselbst (S. 225) seinen interessanten Reisebericht nach Petra und in demselben noch eine kleine fragmentarische Grabschrift von historischem Interesse mit:

עניׄשו אח שקילת
מלכת נבטו בר

"Onaisch, Bruder der Schuqailat,
Der Königin der Nabatäer, Sohn des . . . . ."

עניׄשו wird mit dem Namen des Dichter ابو غُنَيْش Ibn Doreid 296 zu vergleischen sein. Auffällig ist אח statt des zu erwartenden אחו. In שקילת vermuthet schon Lagrange die Gemahlin und Schwester Malchos III. (regierte von *ca* 49–71 A. D.); vergleiche von Gutschmid bei Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften*, 86.

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THE FORMS OF THE NAMES IN 1 CHRONICLES 1–7 COMPARED WITH THOSE IN PARALLEL PASSAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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The following article endeavors to show side by side all the variants between the forms of the names in 1 Chronicles 1–7 and those in the parallel passages of the earlier historical books of the Old Testament, together with the witness of the Septuagint for or against the readings of Chronicles. After a few opening verses in 1 Chron. 8 (herein considered) the parallels are mostly found in the Books of Samuel and Kings, with a few in Ezra-Nehemiah. The lack of time has forbidden an examination of these passages, an omission which is to some extent supplied by Driver's *Notes on Samuel* and by the various commentaries on the other books. I have taken Chronicles as the basis of this article and have not endeavored therefore to show to any great extent its faults of omission, where the earlier parallel passages contain material not used by the chronicler. Of course I have not dealt with those passages in Chronicles which are not found in the earlier books, except in drawing my deductions about the Greek manner of rendering Hebrew names. In addition to the variants here given, there are in the seven chapters examined about fourteen cases of *plene* writing due to the chronicler alone, and five cases of *breve* forms which the earlier parallel passages render *plene;* these I have not thought it necessary to give in detail. For the readings of Chronicles and the other Hebrew books, so far as available, I have used Baer's texts; for the Greek, the edition of the Septuagint edited by Dr. Swete and printed at the Cambridge press (Vol. I., 1887; Vol. II., 1891). The abbreviations, etc., accompanying the Greek are those of that edition, viz.: for the codices, A = Alexandrinus; B = Vaticanus; D = Cottonianus Geneseos;[1] E = Bodleianus Geneseos; F = Ambrosianus. The

[1] *D* italicized = Grabe's *Collatio cod. Cotton. Geneseos cum Editione Romana*, the only record existing for many of the readings of D. See the *Cambridge Septuagint*, Vol. I., p. xxiv.

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hands, so far as they are distinguished, are marked by (*) for the original scribe's corrections of himself; by [a, b, c] for the second, third, and fourth hands, respectively; [a vid.] a probable second hand reading.[1] I have abandoned the use of the Greek accents and breathings except in the few cases where Greek words occur, because there is no valuable manuscript authority for these accents, and because I believe that in some cases they are misleading.[2] To adopt the plan of the Cambridge edition and accent according to the Hebrew accentuation and aspirate according to the system of Westcott and Hort, would serve no purpose where the Hebrew and Greek are given side by side.

The name-lists in the first seven chapters of 1 Chronicles, with their parallels, so far as they exist, are the following:

1 Chron. 1:1–4	Gen. 5:3–28
1:4–23	10:1–29
1:24–27	11:10–26
1:29–31	25:13–16
1:32–33	25:1–4
1:35	36:4–5
1:36–37	36:11–13
1:38–54	36:20–43
2:1–2	35:23–26
2:3	38:3–5 Num. 26:19–21
2:4	Gen. 38:29–30 Num. 26:19–21
2:5	Gen. 46:12 Num. 26:19–21
2:6*a*	Josh. 7:1
2:6*b*	1 Kgs. 5:11
2:7	Josh. 7:1
2:9–12	Ruth 4:19–22
2:13–15	1 Sam. 16:5–13
2:16–17	2 Sam. 2:18 17:25
3:1–3	3:2–5
3:5–8	5:14–16 1 Chron. 14:4–7
3:10–16	1 and 2 Kings
4:24	Gen. 46:10 Ex. 6:15 Num. 26:12–13
1 Chron. 4:28–32	Josh. 19:2–7
5:3	Gen. 46:9 Num. 26:5–6
5:27–30	1 Chron. 6:1, 3 Gen. 46:11 Ex. 6:16, 18, 20, 23, 25 Num. 3:17, 19, 2
6:1–4	Ex. 6:16–19 Num. 3:17–20
6:7–8	1 Chron. 6:22 Ex. 6:24
6:9–13	1 Chron. 6:18–22
6:11–12	1 Sam. 1:1
6:13	1 Sam. 8:2
6:40–62	Josh. 21:11–34
6:65–66	21:36–37
7:1	Gen. 46:13 Num. 26:23
7:6	Gen. 46:21 Num. 26:38
7:13	Gen. 46:24 Num. 26:48
7:14	26:29
7:20	26:35
7:30	Gen. 46:17 Num. 26:44
7:31	Gen. 46:17 Num. 26:45

[1] *Cambridge Septuagint*, Vol. I., p. xvi.

[2] See the discussion of Ευιλα, etc., p. 287.

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THE WITNESS OF THE GREEK TO THE HEBREW.

Before the Septuagint can be taken either as a basis for restoring a separate Hebrew text, or as a corroboration of the present text in the name-lists, certain characteristics of the Greek must be recognized. Undoubtedly there is a lack of consistency in the transliteration of the names, and, although this failing cannot be altogether explained except by assuming considerable carelessness in the early handling of the manuscripts, yet the self-contradictions of the Greek can be rendered much less troublesome by a systematizing of its errors, and a comprehension of its system of transliterating, so far as its system can be traced. To obtain this comprehension, if possible, I have compared all of the several hundred names in the first seven chapters of 1 Chronicles with their equivalents in the Greek, as given by the Cambridge Septuagint, and have again compared the greater part of these with their parallels in the early historical books of the Old Testament. The results of this work are here given. The Cambridge Septuagint presents what is probably the most carefully edited text that has yet appeared of the codex Vaticanus (here designated as B) with the variations of the codex Alexandrinus (A). Of these two codices, B is by far the more independent of our present Hebrew text in the matter of proper names; its variants are striking, and it probably represents an independent Hebrew text. At the same time its errors and self-contradictions are more numerous than those of A, which bear undoubted traces not only of having been, in Chronicles, carefully compared with, and revised by, the parallel passages in Genesis,[1] but also of having followed a text which, if not the same as our present Hebrew text, is one very similar to it. The codex Alexandrinus therefore presents us with better material for judging how the Greek represented Hebrew equivalents, but the codex Vaticanus presents us with a more valuable basis for constructing an independent Hebrew text, and for such critical material as an independent text offers. When the

[1] Sufficient evidence of A's use of Genesis in Chronicles may be shown by the following examples from ch. 1 of 1 Chronicles:

Verses 12–20 (B omits 11–23): A copies all its own readings of Gen. 10:14–26, even to the departures from the Hebrew text, for example; v. 18 (Gen. 10:24), Ἀρφαζαδ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Καινον, etc., which is not found in the Hebrew.

Verse 32: A adds to Chronicles its reading of Gen. 25:3, including the insertion of the names Ραγουηλ and Ναβδεηλ.

Verse 41: A adds the reading of Gen. 36:25, Ελιβαμα θυγάτηρ Ανα.

Verse 42: A reads for יַעֲקָן Ιωακαν καὶ Ουκαμ (two attempts to render the same name), following its own reading of Gen. 36:27, *i. e.*, Ιωυκαμ καὶ Ουκαν.

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Alexandrinus and Vaticanus agree on the form of a name, or show only such differences as are easily accounted for, the evidence either for or against the accepted Hebrew text becomes noteworthy, and the manner of rendering into Greek a given combination of Hebrew letters becomes more certain as the cases accumulate. It is from such evidence that the deductions herein given are drawn. It would be unwise to expect the Greek translation always to follow the vowels of the Massoretic text. Such a state of things would at once cast suspicion upon the Greek, for it would denote a servile following of the textus receptus, debasing the Septuagint to the rank of a mere copy. But such is not the case. Whatever tradition the Greek translators held as to the pointing of the proper names, it was not always the same as that held by the Massoretes. Nay, it is not always consistent with itself, for that again would indicate that the Hebrew had passed beyond speech (whether an Aramaized speech or any other) and had become a dead language which could be represented only by conventional methods. One cannot believe that the Septuagint names are entirely constructed on conventional principles; they represent, everywhere, the effort of one living language to reproduce the sounds of another living, and widely different, language. To us they are both dead, but these fossil names, embedded at a time when the Greek was still plastic and the Hebrew, if not actually living, yet retaining something of its natural form, may furnish us with knowledge beyond that of the conventional Massoretic tradition. An alphabet letter is a sign upon which the learned in a language have fixed, to represent certain sounds; but a living language has more sounds—particularly vowel sounds—than it has letters, and the vowel sounds merge into one another or into obscurity and almost silence, so that the knowledge of an alphabet does not enable a person to correctly pronounce a language, nor will the sound of a given letter be invariably represented by any one letter in the language of another people. Therefore we expect, and find, the greatest latitude in the choice of Greek vowels with which to vocalize the vowelless Hebrew consonants, and some latitude in the choice of consonants where the sounds were similar, as in the cases of γ and κ, final μ and ν, ב and מ; also in the cases of those Hebrew letters which were sometimes heard as consonants and sometimes as vowels, as ח, which is represented either by χ or by a vowel, and ע, which is either a vowel

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or γ. As every one knows, until the comparatively late invention of the vowel points, the Hebrew had only four vowel signs, א, ה, ו, and י. Of these the Greek regularly represents א by α, ו by either ου (for וּ) or ω (for וֹ), ־ִי by ι in codex A, or by ει in codex B; except initial *yôd*, which must be separately considered, and final ־ִים. The plural ending ־ִים, in the nine instances which occur in vs. 11 and 12 of 1 Chron. ch. 1 and in the three instances in 1 Chron. 2:55, is rendered into Greek by ιειμ, as though the Hebrew had been pronounced with two *yôds*, as it is indeed written in the case of לוּדִיִּים in 1 Chron. 1:11.[1] The diphthong ει for the second *yôd* is the more remarkable in codex A, because the practice of this codex is to render *yôd* by a simple *iôta*. Commonly the plural ־ִים is turned into the Greek plural οι.

Initial *yôd* is rendered in Greek by *iôta*, with or without a vowel following. If the Greeks heard our modern pronunciation of such a *yôd* as a consonant sound equal to English *y* in names, for example, beginning יְהוֹ (now pronounced *ye-ho*), they can scarcely be said to have shown it by their uniform transliteration Ιω. Initial יָ and יְ, when not rendered by a simple *iôta*, become Ια and Ιε respectively. Furthermore יוֹ equals Ιω. We cannot suppose that in the Septuagint such an *iôta* had the value of *y*, giving rise to the syllables *ya*, *ye* and *yo*, not only because these syllables would be contrary to anything we find elsewhere in Greek, but because such names as ירושלם and ישוע became common in Greek as Ἱερουσαλήμ and Ἰησοῦς and even went into Latin as Hierusalem and Iēsus (the latter being originally a trisyllable in Latin); further than that, the frequent omission of the vowel after the initial *iôta* could not have taken place if it had been an essential part of the syllable: יְדוּתוּן, for example, could not be represented by Ιδιθουν, but by Ιεδιθουν only. When, moreover, we find initial *yôd* sometimes rendered by Ει, as it frequently is in other positions, we are bound to say that it was treated by the Greeks as a vowel and not as a consonant. But did the Greeks hear it as a vowel? That is a different question. In what way could the Greek represent our pronunciation of יָרֶד (*ya-red*) except by Ιαρεδ, which is their usage, and which, if rapidly pronounced, assimilates as closely to *ya-red* as any combination of letters can. Furthermore, if initial *yôd* had a distinct

[1] Compare 26:1, Κορεειμ (B) = קרחים; 26:16, Σεφιειμ (A) = שפים.

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sound of *iôta*, why is it not more frequently represented by Ει? But this rendering of *yôd* initial is quite exceptional; I have noted only the following cases in 1 Chronicles: 16:5, יְעִיאֵל Ιειηλ (A), Ειειηλ (B); יְחִיאֵל Ιαθιηλ (A), Ειειηλ (B); 15:20 יְחִיאֵל Ιθιηλ (A), Ειθηλ (B); 15:27, כְּנַנְיָה (for יכנניה) Ιεχονιας (B), Ειεχονιας (א)[1]; 19:5, יְרֵחוֹ Ιεριχω (A), Ειεριχω (א). If any difference whatever existed between ει and ι, one would, *a priori*, expect the latter to be chosen to represent the weaker sound; the few cases cited above seem to show that some preference existed, but this may be due to a natural inclination to conform to the Hebrew spelling, a name like יצחק being less naturally rendered Εισαακ than Ισαακ even though ει = ι. The fact that Ια is the only way in which the syllable *ya* could be given in Greek amounts to little, since it is also the only way in which the dissyllable ι-α could be rendered. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the Hebrew pronounced an initial *yôd* as *i* (English *e*) and not as *y*. This supposition explains several things: first, that Ιω represents both יְהוֹ and יוֹ; if these two were pronounced so much alike as to be rendered in the same way in Greek, it is easily understood how names beginning יְהוֹ are often given in Hebrew with יוֹ;[2] second, the synizesis of בְּ, כְּ, לְ, and וְ before יְ forming בִּי, כִּי, לִי, וִי, since the contraction of *be-e*, *ke-e*, etc., into *be*, *ke*, etc., is, I think, much more natural than the contraction of *be-ye*, *ke-ye*, would be; third, the pronunciation of Hierusalem and Īēsus; fourth, the frequent representation of *yôd* with its vowel by a simple *iôta*, and sometimes by Ει. Further than this, the analogy of the Assyrian in its inflections of verbs as *iktal*, *iktala*, etc.,[3] seems to show the same thing.

While, as already pointed out by Kittel,[4] the Septuagint quite uniformly renders ֵי as αι, I find that αι, ε, and η were often quite interchangeable. For example, 1 Chron. 15:16, עֲלָמוֹת = αλαιμωθ (B), αλεμωνθ (א), αλημωθ (A); 11:16, Βαιθλεεμ (B), Βηθλεεμ (א), Βεθλεεμ (A); 11:17, Βηθλεεμ (B), Βαιθλεεμ (א); 11:18, Βαιθλεεμ (B), Βεθλεεμ (א), Βηθλεεμ (A); 19:7, מֵידְבָא = Μαιδαβα (B), Βαιδαβα (א), Μηδαβα (A); 23:8, זֵתָם = Ζεθομ (B), Ζαιθομ (A).

1 א = codex Sinaiticus.

2 For the great number of such parallels compare my lists in HEBRAICA, Vol. XI. (1895), 209–34.

3 Compare the statement of Kimchi, that יִקְטֹל = *iktol*, while the first person is pointed אֶקְטֹל to avoid confusion.

4 *The Books of Chronicles in Hebrew*, R. Kittel, Leipzig, 1895. See the discussion of קִינָן at the beginning of the notes.

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A frequent cause of error in the Greek renderings of proper names is the confusion of letters which were somewhat alike either in sound or in appearance. Of the former I have already mentioned the confusion of ב and מ, of γ and κ (to which should be added χ), the apparently reckless interchange of final μ and ν, and the general inconsistency in the use of vowels. But to the inconsistency of vowels there must be taken certain notable exceptions. I have elsewhere[1] pointed out that names of the form qᵉtâl regularly assume two α's in the Greek transliterations, as נְבָט Ναβατ, קְהָת Kααθ, בְּדָן Βαδαν, מְדָן Μαδαν, etc., and it will be found, by referring to the examples with which this article closes, that the segholate form קֶטֶל is regularly rendered with an α in the first syllable and an ε in the second. Furthermore, in the representation of initial ח by a vowel (and perhaps ע, although the point is not established) it will be seen that the choice of the vowel appears to be greatly influenced by the vowel that occurs in the second syllable. Of course we must expect such interchanges as β and φ and π, sometimes τ and θ where they represent ת, τ and δ, and some confusion of the sibilants. Of a different nature, and, I think, not so frequent, are those errors which arise from mistaking the form of a letter; the chief of these seem to be the old confusion of ר and ד, and a few cases of mistaking צ and ע, as in 1 Chron. 4:20, צִקְלַג rendered Ωκλα as though עִקְלַג,[2] and in 1 Chron. 1:40, עֲנָה = Σωναν, and עַלְיָן = Σωλαμ[3] for צֹנָה and צוֹלָן. Instances of the confusion of ח with ה occur also.

The transposition of two or more letters in a name is not an uncommon error in the Greek, and possibly sometimes in the Hebrew, as צְפוֹ, Gen. 36:11 (1 Chron. צְפִי), where the LXX. has in both cases Σωφαρ, indicating that at least the *wav* has been misplaced. I have already mentioned the free use of final μ and ν in the LXX. and have given a number of examples in the lists at the end of this article, but have by no means exhausted the cases even in the first seven chapters of Chronicles. No phenomenon of the Septuagint appears to be more common than this, and, although I have divided the examples given into the three classes of *mimation*, *nunation*, and the *interchange* of μ and ν, I

[1] "A Study in Old Testament Names," HEBRAICA, *loc. cit.*

[2] But compare 1 Chron. 12:1, צִיקְלַג = Σωκλα (B). Compare further 1 Chron. 11:32, עַרְבָתִי = Γαραβαιθθι (B), Σαραβεθθει (A).

[3] These three errors are due to B.

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suspect they are all due to the same cause. It will be seen in the given examples (and an examination of the other cases in the seven chapters under consideration confirms the fact) that this μ or ν is added only where the Hebrew ending is weak,[1] *i. e.*, where the final letter is either a vowel, ה or ע. In the effort to strengthen the ending, no apparent distinction was made between μ and ν, and the ready interchange of these two letters, when in this position, would tend to prove that the difference in sound was not easily distinguished. Of course there are many cases where the Hebrew has been more rigidly followed and the weak ending retained.

As to the interchange of מ and ב, the supposition that מ was pronounced like $\mu\beta$, and that then in some cases the μ was dropped, leaving β standing for the equivalent of מ, would seem to be confirmed by such examples as זִמְרָן 1 Chron. 1:32 = Ζεμβραν (B) = Gen. 25:2 Ζεβραν (A), and שִׁמְרֹן Gen. 46:13 = Ζαμβραμ (A), but this theory does not explain the equally frequent substitution of Greek μ for ב. The sounds of *b* and *m* are not so very far apart, even in English, nor made in such a dissimilar manner, that their confusion should not be possible among a people less keen to distinguish the dull sounds of these two mutes or less careful in enunciating them, and it is quite supposable that such confusion existed when the Greek ear heard the Hebrew sounds. A מ could therefore be represented by μ, by β, or by $\mu\beta$, while ב could not always be distinguished from μ.

As to the pronunciation of a half-vowel under the gutturals and ה, one might infer from certain examples that it was entirely silent, as appears to be the case in מַהֲלַלְאֵל = Μαλελεηλ (1 Chron. 1:2 and Gen. 5:12), אָהֳלִיבָמָה = Ελιβαμας (1 Chron. 1:52 and Gen. 36:41), יַעְנַי = Ιανειν (Ιαναι A) 1 Chron. 5:12, and יַחְצִיאֵל = Ιασιηλ, but it is more probable that the vowel was faintly heard, since an examination of all the instances in 1 Chron. 1–7 shows that in the majority of cases the vowel is given in the Greek, while such an instance as 1 Chron. 2:3, כְּנַעֲנִית, where B reads in the genitive Χαναvειτιδος, and A, Χανααvιτιδος, seems to me to indicate no very distinct sound for the half-vowel.

It now only remains to notice that in certain cases the difficulty of turning a Semitic name into Greek has given rise to vowel com-

[1] חֲדַד = Χοδδαν (1 Chron. 1:30) appears to be an exception.

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binations and syllable divisions which a study of classical Greek would hardly prepare one to expect. The name שִׁמְעִי, 1 Chron. 6:2, etc., is regularly rendered in codex B as Σεμεει. Now we have already seen that the diphthong ει of B equals the Hebrew ִי and is rendered by *iôta* alone in codex A; when therefore, as is regularly the case, we read Σεμει in A, we must suppose three syllables, Σε-με-ι, and not, as our first inclination would be, Σε-μει, giving the ει the value of a diphthong. Further, the name חֲוִילָה, 1 Chron. 1:9, which is given in the Greek as Ευιλα (Ευειλατ B), ought to be divided E-υι-λα, and not, as the printed texts make it by putting the breathing over the υ, Εὐ-ι-λα; for, besides the fact that Εὐιλα would necessarily sound very different from חֲוִילָה, I have shown in the examples of the treatment of ח that an initial syllable חו is always rendered Ω or Ου. In the same way we probably ought to divide Λε-υει *Levi* (Λε-υι A), Δα-υειδ *David*, and Ι-ω-υαν *Javan* (יָוָן read as יוָן). The examples on which the foregoing conclusions are based follow. In these lists, chapter and verse are those of the Hebrew text of 1 Chronicles, unless otherwise noted. The Greek readings are generally those of Codex B, unless otherwise noted. The examples given are not exhaustive; many exceptions occur, but a careful examination of all the names in 1 Chronicles, and some examination of other passages, verify the results here given.

VALUES OF ח IN THE GREEK.

1. Initial ח may be represented by Greek *X* (comparatively rare): 1:30, חֲדַד Χοδδαδ; 1:13, חֵת Χετταιον; 1:39, חֹרִי Χορρι; 1:48, חָם Χαμ; 2:39, חֶלֶץ Χελλης; 2:44, חֶבְרוֹן Χεβρων; 3:22, חַטּוּשׁ Χαττους; 5:26, חָבוֹר Χαβωρ.

2. More often such names begin in Greek with a vowel, preference being given to the vowel *E*, unless the second syllable has α, in which case the first vowel also is *A*.

Initial *E:* 1:3,33, חֲנוֹךְ Ενωχ; 1:9,23, חֲוִילָה E-υι-λα; 1:15, חִוִּי E-υαι-ον; 1:41, חֶמְדָּן Εμερων; 2:5, חֶצְרוֹן Εσρωμ (A); 2:52, חֲצִי Εσει (A); 3:13, חִזְקִיָּהוּ Εζεκιας; 4:28, חֲצַר שׁוּעָל Εσερ' σουαλ (A).

Initial *A:* 1:16, חֲמָתִי Αμαθι; 1:20, חֲצַרְמָוֶת Ασαρμωθ; 3:7, חֶלְאָה Αλαα (A); 3:19, חֲנַנְיָה Ανανια; 3:20, חֲסַדְיָה Ασαδια; 4:13, חֲתַת Αθαθ; 4:20, חָנָן Αναν (A); 2 Chron. 22:6, חֲזָאֵל Αζαηλ.

Exceptions: 3:20, חֲשֻׁבָה Ασουβε; 4:30, חָרְמָה Ερμα; 6:15, חַגִּיָּה Αγγια.

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3. But initial ח followed by *wav* is either Ου (*i. e.*, חוּ) or Ω (*i.e.*, חוֹ): 1:17, חוּל Ουλ; 5:14, חוּרִי Ουρει; 7:32, חוֹתָם Ουθαμ (L);[1] 2:19, 50, חוּר Ωρ; 4:4, חוּשָׁה Ωσαν; 8:5, חוּרָם Ωιμ (Ιωιμ, A). Compare 6:53, בֵּית חוֹרוֹן Βαιθωρων; 7:34, חֻבָּה Ωβαβ.

4. Final ח is silent, and is treated simply as a *mater lectionis*. 1:3, מְתוּשֶׁלַח Μαθουσαλα; 1:18, שֶׁלַח Σαλα; 1:26, תֶּרַח Θαρα; 1:44, 37, זֶרַח Ζαρα, Ζαρε; 1:35, קֹרַח Κορε; 4:17, יִשְׁבַּח Ιεσαβα (A). Similarly, 2:43, תַּפֻּחַ Θαφφου (A); 3:22, בָּרִיחַ Μαρει (but A, Βερια); 4:18, זָנוֹחַ Ζαμων.

5. With furtive pathach, it takes the vowel E, unless considered as plain ח, as above: 1:4, נֹחַ Νωε; 1:32, שׁוּחַ Σωε; 4:12, פָּסֵחַ Βεσσηε (Φεσση A).

6. ח in the middle of a name is treated in three ways, viz.: 1 = χ; 2 = vowel only; 3, with no assigned value whatever.

Greek χ: 1:37, נַחַת Ναχες; 1:26, נָחוֹר Ναχωρ; 1:40, מָנַחַת Μαναχαθ; 2:29, אַחְבָּר Αχαβαρ; 2:31, אַחְלָי Αχαι; 2:32, אֲחִי שַׁמַּי Αχισαμμα (A); 2:48, תִּרְחֲנָה Θαρχνα (A); 3:13, אָחָז Αχας; 4:11, מְחִיר Μαχειρ.

Vowel only: 1:28, יִצְחָק Ισαακ; 1:48, רְחֹבוֹת Ροωβωθ; 2:10, נַחְשׁוֹן Νaασων; 2:44, רַחַם Ραεμ (A); 2:54, בֵּית לֶחֶם Βαιθλεεμ; 3:15, יוֹחָנָן Ιωαναν; 4:7, צֹחַר Σααρ; 4:12, נָחָשׁ Νaας; 6:60, רְחֹב Ροωβ.

Silent:[2] 2:5, וְחָמוּל Ιεμουηλ; 2:9, יְרַחְמְאֵל Ιραμεηλ; 2:52, הַמְּנֻחוֹת Αμμανιθ (A); 2:54, מָנַחְתִּי Μαναθ (A); 3:10, רְחַבְעָם Ροβοαμ; 3:11, אֲחַזְיָהוּ Οζεια; 4:2, יַחַת Ιεθ; 4:7, אֲחַשְׁתָּרִי Ασθηρα (A); 4:12, תְּחִנָּה Θανα (A).

VALUES OF ע.

1. The values of ע follow very closely those of ח, except where ע has a consonantal value at the beginning of words, *e. g.*, 2:42, עֵיפָה Γαιφα (A); 4:13, עָתְנִיאֵל Γοθονιηλ; 4:14, עָפְרָה Γοφερα; 6:45, עָלֶמֶת Γαλεμεθ; 2:18, עֲזוּבָה Γαζουβα, Αζουβα (A).

2. Initial ע is generally represented simply by a vowel *e* or *a*; perhaps, as in the case of ח, influenced by the vowel of the second syllable, *e. g.*, 2:26, עֲטָרָה Αταρα, Ετερα (A); 1:41, עֲנָה Ανα; 2:16, עֲשָׂהאֵל Ασαηλ; 2:8, עֲזַרְיָה Αζαρια (A); 2:35, עַתַּי Εθθει; 2:17, עֲמָשָׂא Αμεσσα (A); 2:12, עֹבֵד Ωβηδ.

3. Final ע: 1:39, תִּמְנָע Θαμνα; 1:30, מִשְׁמָע Μασμα; 1:33, אֲבִידָע Αβειδα; 2:43, שָׁמַע Σεμαα for שמעא Σαμαα as in 2:13.

[1] L = Lagarde's *Lucian* cited by Siegfried-Stade.

[2] In most names beginning with יח the ח is treated as silent, as may be seen by glancing over such names in Siegfried und Stade's *Wörterbuch*.

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4. With furtive pathach, takes *e:* 2:24, תְּקוֹעַ Θεκωε; 3:7, יָפִיעַ Ιαφιε (A) (compare 2:28, יָדָע Ιαδαε, perhaps for יָדַע); 8:33, מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ Μελχισουε; 10:8, גִּלְבֹּעַ Γελβουε; 14:7, אֱלִישָׁמָע Ελεισαμαε (B) and בְּעֶלְיָדָע Βαλεγδαε (B).

5. ע in the middle of a name may be consonantal, *e. g.*, 2:47, שָׁעַף Σαγαφ (A); but is usually with no other value than that of its vowel, this vowel being preferably *o* (see below) and influencing a contiguous vowel. 2:11, בֹּעַז Βοος; 2:13, שִׁמְעָא Σαμαα; 2:21, גִּלְעָד Γαλααδ; 8:7, נַעֲמָן Νοομα; 8:8, בַּעֲרָא Βααρα (A); 9:35 and 11:43, מַעֲכָה Μοωχα (B).

6. The tendency of ע to take the vowel *o* is quite marked, *e. g.*, 4:13, עָתְנִיאֵל Γοθονιηλ; 4:14, עָפְרָה Γοφερα; 1:39, עֲנָה Ωναμ; 2:11, בֹּעַז Βοος; 8:7, נַעֲמָן Νοομα; 9:35, מַעֲכָה Μοωχα (B); 2:48 and 3:2, מַעֲכָה Μωχα; 4:19, מַעֲכָתִי Νωχαθει (B); 4:15, נַעַם Νοομ (B); 29:12, עֲדָן Ιωδαν; 1:42, יַעֲקָן Ιωακαν A (Ωναν B); 4:5, נַעֲרָה Νοορα (A); 4:36, יַעֲקֹבָה Ιωκαβα (B); 1:40, עַלְיָן Ιωλαμ (A); 1:33, עֵפֶר Οφερ; 1:36, גַּעְתָּם Γοωθαμ; 1:51, עַלְיָה Γωλα.

ה FINAL.

ה final is usually represented by *a*, but I note these exceptions in which it becomes ε: 1:37, שַׁמָּה Σομμε; 1:37, מִזָּה Μοζε; 1:40, אַיָּה Αιε (A in Genesis).

ו = ου.

1:8, כּוּשׁ Χους; 1:8, פּוּט Φουδ; 1:3, מְתוּשֶׁלַח Μαθουσαλα; לוּדִים Λουδιειμ (Gen. 10:13); 1:14, יְבוּסִי Ιεβουσαιον; 1:17, אַשּׁוּר Ασσουρ; 1:17, לוּד Λουδ; 1:23, אוּפִיר Ουφειρ (*i. e.*, אוּפִיר); 1:26, שְׂרוּג Σερουχ; 1:30, וְדוּמָה Ιδουμα; 1:31, יְטוּר Ιετουρ; 1:32, קְטוּרָה Χεττουρα; 1:35, רְעוּאֵל Ραγουηλ; 1:35, יְעוּשׁ Ιεους; 2:1, רְאוּבֵן Ρουβην (compare same verse, יְהוּדָה Ιουδα); 4:24, נְמוּאֵל Ναμουηλ.

GREEK ει OF CODEX B = ι OF CODEX A = HEBREW ־ִי.

		B.	A.			B.	A.
1:5	Hebr. om.	Ελεισα	Ελισα	1:52	פִּינֹן	Φεινων	Φινων
1:6	רִיפַת	Ερειφαθ	Ριφαε Εριφαθ (D)	2:10	עַמִּינָדָב	Αμειναδαβ	Αμιναδαβ
1:7	תַּרְשִׁישָׁה	Θαρσεις	Θαρσις	5:3	כַּרְמִי	Χαρμει	Χαρμι
1:33	אֲבִידָע	Αβειδα	Αβιδα	6:2	לִבְנִי	Λοβενει	Λοβενι
1:35	אֱלִיפַז	Ελειφας	Ελιφαζ	6:2	שִׁמְעִי	Σεμεει[1]	Σεμει[1]

[1] Chronicles, Exodus, Numbers.

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IN GENESIS, A FREQUENTLY HAS ει.

		B.	A.
1:9	חֲוִילָה	Ε-υει-λατ	Ε-υι-λα; Gen. 10:29, Ε-υει-λα
1:11	לוּדִיִּים	Om. and other plurals here	Λωδιειμ, following Gen. 10:13 (See note to p. 281)
1:23	אוֹפִיר	Om.	Ουφειρ, following Gen. 10:29
1:38	דִּישָׁן	Om.	Ρισων; Gen. 36:21, Ρεισων Ρισων (D E)
1:39	חֹרִי	Χορρει	Χορρι; Gen. 36:22, Χορρει Χορρι (E)
2:1	לֵוִי	Λευει	Λευι; Gen. 35:23, Λευεις
6:1	מְרָרִי	Μαραρει	Μεραρι; Gen. 46:11, Μεραρει

PLURAL ENDING ־ִים = ιειμ (־ִיִּים).

1 Chron. 1:11: לוּדִיִּים Λωδιειμ; עֲנָמִים Αναμιειμ; לְהָבִים Λαβιειμ (Gen. 10); נַפְתֻּחִים Νεφθαλιειμ (Gen. 10); פַּתְרֻסִים Πατροσωνιειμ; כַּסְלֻחִים Χασλωνιειμ; פְּלִשְׁתִּים Φυλιστιειμ; כַּפְתֹּרִים Χαφοριειμ.

1 Chron. 2:55: תִּרְעָתִים Αργαθιειμ; שִׁמְעָתִים Σαμαθιειμ; שׂוּכָתִים Σωχαθιειμ.

1 Chron. 26:1, קָרְחִים Κορεειμ (B); 26:16, שֻׁפִּים Σεφιειμ (A).

But compare 1 Chron. 14:11, בַּעַל־פְּרָצִים Βααλ' φαρασειν (A), Φααλ φαθισειμ (B).

INITIAL Ια, Ιε, Ιω.

The regular form of names beginning יְהוֹ is Ιω-; beginning יוֹ is Ιω-; beginning יְהוּ is Ιου-; beginning יח is Ιε- (with a few exceptions). For confirmation of the above, it is sufficient to consult any Hebrew lexicon which gives the usual Greek form, *e. g.*, Siegfried und Stade.

Ια = יָ (יֶ in Segholates, see on Segholates below), *e. g.*, 1:2, יֶרֶד Ιαρεδ; 1:4, יֶפֶת Ιαφεθ; 2:28, יָדָע Ιαδαε; 4:17, יָלוֹן Ιαλων (A); 9:10, יָכִין Ιαχειν; 2:2, בִּנְיָמִן Βενιαμειν.

Ιε = יְ (יִ יֶ יֳ), *e. g.*, 1:20, יָקְטָן Ιεκταν; 1:31, יְטוּר Ιεττουρ; 1:32, יָקְשָׁן Ιεξαν; 1:32, יִשְׁבָּק Ιεσβοκ; 1:35, יְעוּשׁ Ιεους; 1:35, יַעְלָם Ιεγλομ (יַעְלָם ?); 1:51, יְתֵת Ιεθεθ; 3:6, יִבְחָר Ιεβααρ (A); 9:8, יִבְנְיָה Ιεβναα (A); 11:4, יְבוּס Ιεβους.

SEGHOLATE FORM QETEL.

The Segholate form *qetel* is generally rendered in Greek by an α in the first syllable and by ε in the second, *e. g.*, 1:2, יֶרֶד Ιαρεδ; 1:3, לֶמֶךְ Λαμεχ; 1:5, יֶפֶת Ιαφεθ; 1:17, גֶּתֶר Γαθερ; 1:19, פֶּלֶג Φαλεκ; 1:20, שֶׁלַח Σαλεφ; 2:4, פֶּרֶץ Φαρες; 2:33, פֶּלֶת Φαλεθ (A);

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2:48, שֶׁבֶר Σαβερ (Σεβερ A); 3:7, נֶפֶג Ναφεγ (A); 6:52, גֶּזֶר Γαζερ; 7:31, חֶבֶר Χαβερ (A).

But this form sometimes takes two *o*-vowels in Greek, *e. g.*, 1:17, מֶשֶׁךְ Μοσοχ; 2:17, יֶתֶר Ιοθορ (Ιεθερ A); 7:6, בֶּכֶר Βοχορ (A) Compare Gen. 46:17, חֶבֶר Χοβωρ A (Χοβολ *D*).

With middle guttural the rule is two *a*'s, *e. g.*, 2:27, מַעַץ Μαας; 4:15, נַעַם Νααμ A (Νοομ B); Neh. 7:49, גַּחַר Γααρ (A); Judg. 9:26, גַּעַל Γααδ (A); Josh. 18:17, בֹּהַן Βααμ (A); Gen. 46:10, צֹחַר Σααρ.

GREEK αι = ־ֵי.

1 Chron. 1:2, קֵינָן Καιναν; 1:17, עֵילָם Αιλαμ; 1:30, תֵּימָא Θαιμαν (Θημαν D); 1:40, עֵיבָל Γαιβηλ (Γαοβηλ A); 1:45, תֵּימָנִי Θαιμανων (Θεμανων A); 1:53, תֵּימָן Θαιμαν; 2:6, אֵיתָן Αιθαμ; 2:6, הֵימָן Αιμοναν (Αιμαν A); 2:46, עֵיפָה Γαιφαηλ (Γαιφα η παλλακη A); 2:47, עֵיפָה Γαιφα; 2:51, בֵּית־לָחֶם Βαιθλαμμων A (Βαιθα Λαμμων B); 2:54, בית לחם Βαιθλαεμ (Βαιθλεεμ A); 4:3, 32, עֵיטָם Αιταν.

EXAMPLES OF TRANSPOSITION.

1:6, תּוֹגַרְמָה Θοργαμα; 1:9, סַבְתְּכָה Σεβεκαθα; 1:29, וְאַדְבְּאֵל Ναβδαηλ; 1:42, זַעֲוָן Ζουκαμ, *i. e.*, זוען; 1:51, עלוה Γωλα, *i. e.*, עַלְוָה; 2:49, עַכְסָה Ασχα (Αχσα A); 3:18, נְדַבְיָה Ναβαδιας (for examples of Greek nominative in ς see v. 17); Josh. 19:5, בֵּית־הַמַּרְכָּבֹת Βαιθμαχερεβ; 1 Chron. 5:3, חֶצְרוֹן Αρσων B; 6:7, אַסִּיר Αρεσει B; Josh. 21:30, עַבְדּוֹן Δαββων B, Αβδων A; 1 Chron. 6:64, קְדֵמוֹת Καμηδωθ A; Gen. 46:21, בֶּכֶר Χοβωρ A.

NUNATION AND MIMATION IN THE GREEK.

Nunation: 1:9, שְׁבָא Σαβαν (B E; A in 1:22 and in Gen. 25:3); 1:30, חֲדַד Χοδδαν (A in Genesis), Χονδαν (B in Chronicles); 1:30, תֵּימָא Θαιμαν; 2:11, שַׂלְמָא Σαλμων, Σαλμαν (A); 3:5, שִׁמְעָא Σαμαν; 3:5, שְׁלֹמֹה Σαλωμων; Gen. 25:15, קֵדְמָה Κεδμαν (*D*); 25:14, מִשְׁמָע Μασμαν (*D*E); Gen. 36:23, שְׁפוֹ Σωφαν (*D*).

Mimation: 1:5, מָדַי Μαδαιμ; 1:21, דִּקְלָה Δεκλαμ (A); 1:40, עֲנָה Ωναμ (A), Ωναν (Gen. 36:24); 1:46, עֲוִית Γεθθαιμ; Josh. 19:2, Μωλαδα (A), Μωλαδαμ (B[a]), Hebrew om.

INTERCHANGE OF FINAL μ AND ν IN 1 CHRON. 1.

1:8, מִצְרַיִם Μεσραιν (A, Gen. 10:6, 13); 1:11, לוּדִיִּים Λουδιειν (E, Gen. 10:13); 1:11, עֲנָמִים Ενεμετιειν (E, Gen. 10:13); 1:11, לְהָבִים Λαβειν (A); 1:21, הֲדוֹרָם Κεδουραν (A); 1:29, מִבְשָׂם Μαβσαν (A), Μασσαν (*D*, Gen. 25:13); 1:32, מְדָן Μαδαμ; 1:33, מִדְיָן Μαδιαμ;

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1:39, הוֹמָם Αιμαν; 1:40, עַלְיָן Ιωλαμ (A), Σωλαμ (B); 1:40, אוֹנָם Ωναν; 1:42, בִּלְהָן Βαλααμ; 1:42, אֲרָן Αραμ (A, Gen. 36:28).

CONFUSION OF מ AND ב.

1:10, נִמְרוֹד Νεβρωδ; 1:22, עֵיבָל Γεμιαν; 1:32, זִמְרָן Ζεμβραν, Ζεβραν (A, Gen. 25:2); 2:6, זִמְרִי Ζαμβρει; 2:13, אֲבִינָדָב Αμειναδαβ; 6:3, עַמְרָם Αμβραμ; 19:7, מֵידְבָא Βαιδαβα (א); Josh. 19:2, שֶׁבַע Σαμαα; Josh. 21:13, לִבְנָה Λεμνα; Josh. 21:30, מִשְׁאָל Βασελλαν.

THE HALF-VOWEL UNDER A GUTTURAL AND ה.

Silent: 1:2, מַהֲלַלְאֵל Μαλελεηλ; 1:52, אָהֳלִיבָמָה Ελιβαμας; 2:3, כְּנַעֲנִית Χαναναιτιδος (B genitive), Χαναανιτιδος (A); compare 2:48 and 3:2, מַעֲכָה Μωχα; 4:19, מַעֲכָתִי Μαχαθα (Νωχαθει B); 4:36, יַעֲקֹבָה Ιακαβα (Ιωκαβα B); 5:12, יַעְנַי Ιαναι (Ιανειν B); 7:13, יַחֲצִיאֵל Ιασιηλ (Ιεισιηλ B).

Pronounced: 1:42, יַעֲקָן Ιωακαν (Ιουκαμ); 4:5, נַעֲרָה Νοορα (A); 5:28, אַהֲרֹן Ααρων; 6:65, מַחֲנַיִם Μααναιμ (A), (Μαναιμ in Joshua); compare Josh. 21:35, נַהֲלָל Νααλωλ (A).

COMPARISON OF PROPER NAMES.

THE FORMS OF THE PROPER NAMES IN THE FIRST SEVEN CHAPTERS OF CHRONICLES COMPARED WITH THOSE IN THE EARLY HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1 Chron.[1]		Gen.		LXX. 1 Chron. (B).	LXX. Gen. (A).
1:6	דִּיפַת	10:3	רִיפַת	Ερειφαθ (Ριφαε A)	Ριφαθ (Ερıφαθ *D*)
1:7	תַּרְשִׁישָׁה	10:4	תַּרְשִׁישׁ	Θαρσεις	Θαρσις
	רוֹדָנִים		דֹּדָנִים	Ροδιοι	Ροδιοι
1:9	סַבְתָּא	10:7	סַבְתָּה	Σαβατα	Σαβαθα
1:11	לוּדִיִּים	10:13	לוּדִים	Λωδιειμ (A)	Λουδιειμ
1:17	מֶשֶׁךְ	10:23	מַשׁ	Μοσοχ (A)[2]	Μοσοχ
1:22	עֵיבָל	10:28	עוֹבָל	Γεμιαν (A)	Om.
1:35	יְעוּשׁ	36:5 (Qeri יְעוּשׁ)	יעישׁ	Ιεουλ	Ιεους
1:36	צְפִי	36:11	צְפוֹ	Σωφαρ	Σωφαρ

[1] The Greek texts agree in inserting Ελισα after יָוָן in 1 Chron. 1:5 = Gen. 10:2.

[2] The Greek understands the name as similar to that in verse 5, *i. e.*, מֶשֶׁךְ = Μοσοχ. B omits vs. 11–23 of 1 Chron. 1.

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1 CHRON.		GEN.		LXX. 1 CHRON. (B).	LXX. GEN. (A).
1:39	הוֹמָם	36:22	הֵימָם	Αιμαν	Αιμαν
1:40	עַלְיָן	36:23	עַלְוָן	Σωλαμ	Γωλων
	שְׁפִי		שְׁפוֹ	Σωβ (Σωφαρ A)	Σωφ { (Σωφαν *D*) (Σωρ E)
1:41	דִּישׁוֹן	36:26	דִּישָׁן	Δαισων	Δησων
	חַמְרָן		חֶמְדָּן	Εμερων (Αμαδα A)	Αμαδα (Αδαμα E)
1:42	יַעֲקָן	36:27	עֲקָן	Ωναν { (Ιωακαν και Ουκαμ A)	Ιωυκαμ καὶ Ουκαν[1] (Ιεωυκαμ *D*)
	דִּישׁוֹן	36:28	דִּישָׁן	Δαισων	Ρεισων (Ρησων E)
1:46	עֲיִות (Qeri עֲוִית)	36:35	עֲוִית	Γεθθαιμ (Γεθθαμ A)	Γεθθαιμ
1:50	הֲדַד		הֲדַר	Αδαδ (Αδδα, v. 51)	Αραθ
	פָּעִי	36:39	פָּעוּ	Φογωρ	Φογωρ
1:51	עַלְיָה	36:40	עַלְוָה	Γωλα	Γωλα
		JOSHUA.			JOSHUA.
2:6	זִמְרִי	7:1	זַבְדִּי	Ζαμβρει (Ζαμβρι A)	{ Ζαβρι A Ζαμβρει B Ζαμβρι F
		1 KINGS.			1 KINGS.
2:6	דָּרַע	5:11	דַּרְדַּע	Δαρα	{ Δαραα A Δαραλα B
		JOSHUA.			JOSHUA.
2:7	עָכָר	7:1	עָכָן	Αχαρ	{ Αχαν A Αχαρ B
		RUTH.			RUTH.
2:11	שַׂלְמָא	{ 4:20 4:21	שַׂלְמָה שַׂלְמוֹן }	Σαλμων (Σαλμαν A)	{ Σαλμαν B Σαλμων A
		1 SAM.			1 SAM.
2:12 2:13	יִשַׁי אִישַׁי	{ 16:5 *sq.*	יִשַׁי }	Ιεσσαι Ιεσσαι	Ιεσσαι (B)
	שִׁמְעָא	16:9	שַׁמָּה	Σαμαα (Σαμαια A)	{ Σαμα B Σαμμα A

[1] Apparently two renderings of the same name. On A's use of Genesis in correcting Chronicles see p. 281.

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				LXX.	
1 Chron.		2 Sam.		1 Chron. (B).	2 Sam. (B).
2:16	אַבְשַׁי	2:18	אֲבִישַׁי	Αβεισα	Αβεσσα (Αβισαι A)
	אֲבִיגָ֫יִל	17:25	אֲבִיגַל	Αβειγαια (Αβιγαια A)	Αβειγαια
2:17	יֶתֶר		יִתְרָא	Ιοθορ (Ιεθερ A)	Ιοθερ
3:1	דָּנִיֵּאל	3:3	כִּלְאָב	Δαμνιηλ (Δαλουια A)	Δαλουια
	אֲבִיגַיִל.		אביגל (Qeri אֲבִיגַיִל)	Αβιγαιᾳ	Αβιγαια
3:5	שִׁמְעָא	5:14	שַׁמּוּעַ[1]	Σαμαν (Σαμαα A)	Σαμμους
3:6	אֱלִישָׁמָע	5:15	אֱלִישׁוּעַ	Ελεισα (Ελισαμα A)	Ελεισους
		1 Kings.			1 Kings (B).
3:10	אֲבִיָּה	14:31 *sq.*	אֲבִיָּם	Αβεια	Αβιου
3:11	יוֹרָם	22:51 etc.	יְהוֹרָם	Ιωραμ	Ιωραμ
		2 Chron.			2 Chron. (B).
	אֲחַזְיָהוּ	21:17	יְהוֹאָחָז	Οζεια	Οχοζειας
		2 Kings.			2 Kings (B).
	יוֹאשׁ	14:13	יְהוֹאָשׁ	Ιωας	Ιωας
3:12	אֲמַצְיָהוּ	12:22 etc.	אֲמַצְיָה	Αμασιας	Αμεσσειας
	עֲזַרְיָה	15:30	עֻזִּיָּה (v. 32 עֻזִּיָּהוּ)	Αζαρια	Αζαριου
3:13	חִזְקִיָּהוּ	20:10 / 18:1 *sq.* / (Hos. 1:1	יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ / חִזְקִיָּה / יְחִזְקִיָּה)	Εζεκιας	Εζεκιας
		Jer.			
3:14	יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ	27:1	יאוֹשִׁיָּהוּ (Kt.)	Ιωσεια	Ιωσεια
		2 Kings.			
3:15	יְהוֹיָקִים	23:34	אֶלְיָקִים[2]	Ιωακειμ	Ελιακειμ
	צִדְקִיָּהוּ	24:17	מַתַּנְיָה[3]	Σεδεκια	Μαθθαν

[1] 1 Chron. 14:5 *sq.* gives the following variants in the list of David's sons:

שַׁמּוּעַ = שִׁמְעָא of 1 Chron. 3. אֱלִישׁוּעַ = אֱלִישָׁמָע of 1 Chron. 3.
אֱלִיפָלֶט = אֱלְפָּלֶט " " בְּעֶלְיָדָע = אֶלְיָדָע " "

[2] Changed by Pharaoh Neco.

[3] Changed by king of Babylon.

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1 Chron.	Jer.	LXX. 1 Chron. (B).	LXX. 2 Kings (B.)
3:15 שַׁלּוּם	22:11 שַׁלֻּם[1]	Σαλουμ (Σαλλουμ A)	Σελλημ
3:16 יְכָנְיָה	27:20 יְכוֹנְיָה	Ιεχονιας[2]	
	22:24 כָּנְיָהוּ		
	28:4 יְכָנְיָה		
	24:1 יְכָנְיָהוּ (Kethib)		
	52:31 יְהוֹיָכִן		Ιωακειμ *bis*
	2 Kings. 24:6 יְהוֹיָכִין		Ιωακειμ
	Ezekiel. 1:2 יוֹיָכִין		Ιωακειμ

1 Chron.	Gen. (Ex. 6:15).	Num.	1 Chron. (B).	Gen. (A).	Num. (B).
4:24 נְמוּאֵל	46:10 יְמוּאֵל	26:12 נְמוּאֵל	Ναμουηλ	Ιεμουηλ	Ναμουηλ
יָרִיב	יָכִין	יָכִין	Ιαρειν (Ιαρειβ A)	Ιαχειμ	Ιαχειν
זֶרַח	צֹחַר	זֶרַח	Ζαρες (Ζαραε A)	Σααρ (Σααλ *D*)	Ζαρα

1 Chron.	Joshua.	1 Chron. (B).	Joshua (B).
4:29 בִּלְהָה	19:3 בָּלָה	Αβελλα (Βαλαα A)	Βωλα { Βαθουλ A[3] / Βελβωλα A }
תּוֹלָד	19:4 אֶלְתּוֹלַד	Θουλαεμ (Θωλαδ A)	Ελθουλα (Ελθουδαδ A)
4:30 בְּתוּאֵל	בְּתוּל	Βαθουν (Βαθουλ A)	Βουλα
4:31 חֲצַר סוּסִים	19:5 חֲצַר סוּסָה	Ημισυσεσοραμ (Ημισυεωσιμ A)	Σαρσουσειν (Ασερσουσιμ A)
בֵּית בִּרְאִי	19:6 בֵּית לְבָאוֹת	Βραουμσεωρειμ[4] (Βαρουμ'σεωρειμ A)	Βαθαρωθ (Βαιθαλβαθ A)
4:32 תֹּכֶן	19:7 עֶתֶר	Θοκκα (Θοχχαν A)	Θαλχα καὶ Ιεθερ (Βεθερ A)
שַׁעֲרַיִם	שָׁרוּחֶן		καὶ οἱ ἀγροὶ αὐτῶν
5:27 גֵּרְשׁוֹן[5]	6:1, 2 גֵּרְשֹׁם		

[1] Used by Jeremiah as an epithet for יהואחז and adopted by the chronicler.

[2] Thus the LXX. throughout, except in the three places indicated where Ιωακειμ occurs

[3] Βαθουλ is inserted by A here from the next verse (= בְּתוּל), where it is omitted.

[4] A combination with the following name שערים.

[5] Also in Gen. 46:11; Ex. 6:16, 17; Num. 3:17; B Γεδσων, A Γηρσων throughout. Josh 21:27 גֵּרְשׁוֹן = 1 Chron. 6:56 גֵּרְשֹׁם.

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1 Chron.	1 Chron.	LXX. 1 Chron. 5 (B).		Exodus (B).
5:29 מִרְיָם	6:20 Om.	Μαριαμ		Μαριαμ
		1 Chron. 6 (B).	1 Chron. 6 (B).	
6:8,22 אֲבִיָסָף	6:24 אֲבִיאָסָף	8 Αβιαθαρ (Αβιασαφ A)	(37) Αβιασαρ (Αβιασαφ B[b])	Αβιασαρ (Αβιασαφ F)
	1 Chron.			
6:9 אוּרִיאֵל	6:21 (צְפַנְיָה)	Οριηλ (Ουριηλ A)	Σαφανια (Σαφανιου genitive A)	
עֻזִּיָּה	עֲזַרְיָה	Οζεια	Αζαρια	
שָׁאוּל	יוֹאֵל	Σαουλ	Ιωηλ	
6:10 אֲחִימוֹת	6:20 מַחַת	Αλειμωθ (Οχιμωθ A)	Μεθ (Μααθ A)	

1 Chron.	1 Chron.	1 Sam.	1 Chron. 6 (B).	1 Chron. 6 (B).	1 Sam. (B).
6:11 צוֹפַי	6:20 צוּף (Kethib צִיף)	1:1 צוּף	Σουφει (Σουφι A)	Σουφ	ἐν Νασειβ[1] (Σουπ A)
נַחַת	6:19 תּוֹחַ	תֹּחוּ	Καιναθ[2] (Κναθ A)	Θειε (Θοουε A)	Θοκε (Θοου A)
6:12 אֱלִיאָב	אֱלִיאֵל	אֱלִיהוּא	Ελιαβ	Ελειηλ (Ελιηλ A)	Ηλειου (Ελιου A)
		1 Sam.	1 Chr. (B).	1 Chr. 6:18 (B).	1 Sam. (B).
6:13 וַשְׁנִי[3]	6:18 יוֹאֵל	8:2 יוֹאֵל	Σανει (Σανι A)	Ιωηλ	Ιωηλ

1 Chron.	Joshua.	1 Chron. (B).	Joshua (B).
6:43 חִילֵן	21:15 חֹלֹן	Σελνα[4] (Νηλων A)	Αιλωμ (Ωλων A)
6:44 עָשָׁן	21:16 עַיִן וְאֶת־יֻטָּה	Ασαν καὶ τὴν Ατταν (om. Ατταν A)	Ασα καὶ Τανυ (Αιν om. Τανυ A)
6:45 גֶּבַע	21:17 { גִּבְעוֹן / גֶּבַע }	Γαβαι (Γαβεε A)	{ Γαβαων / Γαθεθ (Γαβεε B) }

[1] Derived from בן צוף.

[2] Probably καὶ Ναθ of which A has a corruption; hardly by mere transposition, since consonantal ח = χ, p. 287.

[3] Error for וְהַשֵּׁנִי; compare 1 Sam. 8:2.

[4] Verses 42 and 14 of the Greek have these names in place of the Hebrew יַתִּר, whereas Ιεθθαρ (Ιεθερ A) occurs in 1 Chron. 6:43, against the Hebrew חילן (חלן). A, in Joshua, has followed the Hebrew order.

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1 Chron.		Joshua.		LXX. 1 Chron. (B).	LXX. Joshua (B).
6:45	עָלֶמֶת	21:18	עַלְמוֹן	Γαλεμεθ (Γαλημεθ A)	Γαμαλα (Αλμων A)
6:53	יָקְמְעָם	21:22	קִבְצַיִם	Ικααμ (Ιεκμααν A)	Om. B (Καβσαειμ A)
6:55	עָנֵר	21:25	תַּעְנָךְ	Αμαρ (Ενηρ A)	Ταναχ (Θααναχ A)
	בִּלְעָם		גַּת־רִמּוֹן	Om. B (Ιβλααμ A)	Ιεβαθα (Βαιθσα A)
6:56	גּוֹלָן	21:27	גלון (Qeri גּוֹלָן)	Γωλαν (Γαυλων A)	Γαυλων (Γωλαν A)
	עַשְׁתָּרוֹת		בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה	Ασηρωθ (Ραμωθ A)	Βοσοραν (Βεεθαρα A)
6:57	קֶדֶשׁ	21:28	קִשְׁיוֹן	Κεδες (Κεδεε A)	Κεισων (Κισιων A)
6:58	רָאמוֹת	21:29	יַרְמוּת	Om. B[1] (Αμως A)	Ρεμμαθ (Ιερμωθ A)
	עָנֵם		עֵין גַּנִּים	Om. B (Αναμ A)	Πηγὴν γραμμάτων
6:59	מָשָׁל	21:30	מִשְׁאָל	Μαασα (Μασαλ A)	Βασελλαν (Μασααλ A)
6:60	חוּקֹק	21:31	חֶלְקַת	Ικακ (Ιακακ A)	Χελκατ (Θελκαθ A)
6:61	חַמּוֹן	21:32	חַמֹּת דֹּאר	Χαμωθ (Χαμων A)	Νεμμαθ (Εμαθδωρ A)
	קִרְיָתַיִם		קַרְתָּן	Καριαθαιμ	Θεμμων (Νοεμμων A) (Τεμμων Ba?)
6:62	רִמּוֹנוֹ	21:34	יָקְנְעָם	Ρεμμων	Μααν (Εκναμ A)
	תָּבוֹר		קַרְתָּה	Θαχχεια (Θαβωρ A)	Καδης (Καροα A)
6:65	רָאמוֹת	21:36	רָמֹת	Ραμμων (Ραμωθ A)	Ραμωθ
	מַחֲנַיִם		מַחֲנַיִם	Μααναιθ (Μααναιμ A)	Καμειν (Μαναιμ A)
6:66	יַעְזֵיר		יַעְזֵר	Γαζερ (Γαζηρ A)	Ιαζηρ

1 Chron.		Gen.		Num.		1 Chron. (B).	Gen. (A).	Num. (B).
7:1	פּוּאָה	46:13	פֻּוָּה	26:23	פֻּוָּה	Φουτ (Φουα A)	Φουα	Φουα
	ישׁיב (Qeri יָשׁוּב)		יוֹב		יָשׁוּב	Ιασσουρ (Ιασουβ A)	Ιασουφ (Ιασουβ *D*)	Ιασουβ (Ρασουβ F)

[1] Δαβωρ, which B reads in the corresponding place, is evidently a second reading of the preceding דָּבְרַת, the first reading being Δεβερει.

						LXX.		
1 Chron.		Gen.		Num.		1 Chron. (B).	Gen. (A).	Num. (B).
7:6	יְדִיעֲאֵל[1]	46:21	אַשְׁבֵּל	26:38	אַשְׁבֵּל	Αδειηλ (Ιαδιηλ A)	Ασβηλ	Ασυβηρ
7:13	יַחֲצִיאֵל	46:24	יַחְצְאֵל	26:48	יַחְצְאֵל	Ιεισιηλ (Ιασιηλ A)	Ασιηλ (Ασειηλ *D*)	Σαηλ (Ασιηλ AF) (Ασηλ B^{ab})
	שַׁלּוּם		שִׁלֵּם		שִׁלֵּם	Σαλωμων (Σελλουμ A)	Συλλημ	Σελλη (Σελλημ AF)
7:30	יִשְׁוָה	46:17	יִשְׁוָה	26:44	Omits.	Ισουα	Ιεσσαι	Omits.
	שֶׂרַח		שֶׂרַח		Omits.	Σορε	Σααρ	Omits.

1 Chron.		Num.		1 Chron. (B).	Num. (B).
7:20	בֶּרֶד	26:35	בֶּכֶר ?	Om. B (Βαραδ A)	Om.
	תַּחַת		תַּחַן ?	Om. B (Θααθ A)	Ταναχ

[1] In the fuller list of the descendants of Benjamin in 1 Chron. 8:1*sq*. the following variants occur:

1 Chron.		Gen.		Num.		1 Chron. (B).	Gen. (A).	Num. (B).
8:1	(בְּכֹרוֹ)	46:21	בֶּכֶר	26:38	Omits.	πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ	Χοβωρ (Χοβωλ *D*)	Omits.
	אַחְרַח (v. 4 אֲחוֹחַ)		אֵחִי		אֲחִירָם	Ιαφαηλ (Ααρα A) (v. 4 Αχια, om. A)	Αγχεις (Αγχειν *D*)	Ιαχειραν (Αχιραν A) (Αχιαν F)
8:3	אַדָּר		אַרְדְּ	26:40	אַרְדְּ	Αλει	Αραδ	Αδαρ

THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICATION OF THE GUNÛ-SIGNS.

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The excavations of the French at Tello and of The University of Pennsylvania Expedition at Nippur have at last revealed the more important archaic forms of the Assyrian and Babylonian signs, without which all attempts to trace the origin of the cuneiform characters have necessarily been only in part successful. Availing themselves of this new material, and although working in accordance with fundamentally different principles, Professors Delitzsch and Hilprecht have already made invaluable contributions toward the solving of the riddles connected with the origin of the most common signs. The new field has been well opened up by these pioneers, but almost everything yet remains to be done before it will be completely in the possession of the Assyriologist.

Starting with the testimony of the Assyrians themselves that certain characters, which they designated in their syllabaries as gunû-signs, were formed from simple signs, Professor Delitzsch, by a comparison of the archaic forms, has shown in his *Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (=*EäS.*) that the distinctive mark, whereby the gunû are distinguished from their corresponding simple signs, consists of three or four parallel lines, written in front of or on the face of the simple character. Thus, for example, from (Assyrian) îš, is formed (Assyrian), gunû îš (S^c 93). He has also demonstrated conclusively that the same distinctive lines appear in many more than the eleven characters designated as gunû-signs by the authors of the syllabaries. Indeed it is safe to say that this *motif* was employed by the primitive sign-maker more frequently than any other in the creation of his characters. Here is evidently to be found one of the most important keys thus far discovered with which to

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unlock the mysteries still surrounding the origin of many of the oldest and at the same time the most obscure signs.

From a study of the use of the gunû-*motif*, Professor Delitzsch further draws the induction that it symbolizes an increasing, a heightening, a *Potenzierung* of the idea represented by the original sign (p. 66*sq.*). Accepting this conclusion, however, one finds it difficult to follow him in the explanation of the origin of the gunû-signs when he says: "Jede Hinzufügung bedeutet eine Mehrung, Steigerung, die Vier ist die gesteigerte, potenzierte Zwei, also sollte wohl mit ihrer Ein- oder Vorfügung die *Potenzierung* des Begriffs des einfachen Zeichens symbolisiert werden? Ich antworte: Ja."[1] Although the explanation here presented seems very simple to one accustomed to abstract thinking, when analyzed it becomes evident that in reality it bespeaks a mental development scarcely to be expected in the primitive man. To put one mark by another and recognize that the one has been doubled, or by writing the same sign two or three times to indicate the idea of plurality, is quite different from conceiving of the *Potenzierung eines Begriffs*, and then representing this by three or four conventional lines. Granting that the early sign-makers possessed as highly developed a mathematical sense as is claimed, it must be seriously questioned whether they were able to depart so far from the concrete as this explanation requires. Furthermore no analogies are cited in support of such a departure. Instead, as Professor Delitzsch himself has demonstrated so clearly, in every other sign which can be analyzed with certainty, a picture of some concrete object with which the sign-maker was familiar furnished him the materials with which he constructed his characters. Hence we are compelled to reject this ingenious theory unless proof, of whose existence there is no suggestion, can be adduced in its support. If this explanation be rejected one must be sought which will be concrete and at the same time consonant with the mental development of the sign-maker and with the methods which he used in expressing his ideas. In seeking symbols whereby he could represent these ideas it was natural that he should employ the objects with which he was most familiar, and, therefore, it is not surprising that ten and possibly twelve of the original signs or *motifs* represented parts of the human body. Of these, two — the arm and the hand — were most

[1] *EdS.*, p. 66.

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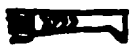
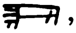
commonly used as symbols of strength. In reality they have the same content, for the hand, being the more important part, represented the arm; and both in turn originally the strength of the man. By a most natural transference, both likewise came to be used as symbols of not merely the might of a man but also of abstract power or strength (ID and ŠÚ, îmûḳu). It is the hand, however, which in Babylonian and Assyrian literature is constantly used to represent the strength and power of a man when these are exerted so as to affect and influence persons and objects. Throughout the historical inscriptions runs the familiar refrain, "my hand conquered," or "the peoples, the spoil of my hand" (nišî kišitti ḳâtia). The pious Assyrian and Babylonian kings frequently assert that they "built temples with their hand," meaning that the temples arose as a result of the exertion of their power and influence. "To take one's hand" (ṣabâtu or aḫâzu), that is to communicate strength to another by taking his hand, is a regular idiom whereby the idea of helping another is expressed; while "to remove (nakâru) the hand from another" is equivalent to desertion or rebellion against him. Thus it is that in the most ordinary expressions the hand (ḳâtu, represented by the sign ŠÚ) is used in precisely the same way and with the same force as the gunû-*motif*, namely, to indicate the impartation of might or power to a person or object. One quotation will suffice to remind the Hebrew student of the same usage in the Old Testament: "The Lord hath spoken of David saying, By the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel out of the hand of the Philistines and out of the hand of their enemies" (2 Sam. 3:18), where "hand" is twice used in the sense of "power" and once as a medium for the exercise of divine might in the affairs of men.

All of these common Semitic idioms, as well as the function of the hand in actual experience, suggest that the sign, which the sign-maker on *a priori* grounds would be expected to employ when he wished to indicate the communication of power so as to add to the potentiality of a person or thing or to increase the intensity of an action, is the hand. An examination of the archaic form of the ideogram for hand ( ) demonstrates that this is precisely what he did. Instead, however, of employing the entire sign, which would have been impracticable, he used, as in other analogous cases, only the most essential elements and at the

same time those easiest to represent, namely, the four fingers. In all the archaic signs for the hand and also when this is united with the arm as in the archaic signs, , id, and , da, the four fingers are represented by four parallel lines, while the thumb is separated from them by a wider space and is represented by a line curving downward to the left. In some cases, as for example , da (Penn., II., No. 87, col. i, 26), the separation is more marked, while in , šû, last line of Uru Kagina,[1] and , id (Penn., II., No. 87, col. ii, 41), the thumb has apparently been left off entirely as unimportant.

The distinction between the four fingers and the thumb and the superior importance of the former becomes more evident when one objectively pictures the act of grasping something with the hand, for in that case it is the four fingers which enclose the object, while the thumb is quite apart from the four fingers and plays the secondary *rôle* of supplementing them. The Sumerian conception of the importance of the fingers is also best illustrated by the name which they gave to them, "horns of the hand" (ŠÛ.SI). The fact that among Semitic peoples the horn was also a symbol of strength may shed still more light upon the use of the most prominent elements in the hand as the conventional symbols of imparted power.

The reason why four lines are most commonly used as the gunû-*motif* is now evident. Equally significant is it that in no case (as far as I have observed) are more than four lines used. The frequent use of two or three lines, interchangeably with the more common four, may possibly be due to a deliberate purpose on the part of the sign-maker to represent a comparative instead of a superlative *Potenzierung* by means of two or three fingers (only a part of the power of the hand) instead of by four. A study of these cases, however, leads to the conclusion that less than four lines are employed, (1) merely for the sake of convenience, as, for example, when the space is limited, or (2) as the result of the peculiarities of individual scribes. The same sign is sometimes written in one inscription always with four and in another contemporary inscription with but three lines. The same character also is written in the same inscription and the same word

[1] *Cf.* Amiaud et Méchineau, *Tableau Comparé*, p. 55.

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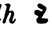
or phrase with a different number of lines. Such conventional variations are of too frequent occurrence in the case of other characters to require further comment. An interesting parallel is found in the archaic Hebrew letter *Kâph* , which is one of the most indisputable derivatives from the Assyrian, in which the sign for hand has been still further conventionalized. The results of the same process reappear in the Hebrew *Yôdh* , which probably originally represented the bent arm and hand. The important point to note, however, is that, as a general rule, the older the inscription the more regularly do the four lines appear, while in the case of the same sign in the later inscriptions, three and often only two lines predominate.

A striking illustration of this conventionalizing process is found in the sign for man, archaic or . Whether we find in this a picture of a man, drawn for the sake of convenience in a horizontal instead of an upright position, as claimed by Professor Hommel,[1] or with Professor Delitzsch see in it the figure of a man, stretched out with his face to the earth, prostrate before the deity,[2] it is impossible to conclude with the latter that the three or four vertical lines are the gunû-*motif;* for his interpretation that they represent a "Steigerung der Unterwürfigkeit unter die Götter" is at best a conjecture built upon another conjecture. Granting that the representation is that of a man prostrate on his face before the gods, it is difficult to see how or why the idea of greater subjection to the gods should also be introduced, for the position itself represents superlative *Unterwürfigkeit.* Furthermore, although the picture is evidently very conventional, and therefore imperfect, it is exceedingly improbable that such an important member as the arm or at least the hand would be completely ignored. The three or four vertical lines are exactly in the position where those members are to be expected, and constitute a representation of the hand, which is in perfect harmony with the exceedingly conventionalized picture before us, and analogous with that which has already been observed in other archaic characters.

In the light of the present study it is possible to trace historically and to illustrate each step in the development of the

[1] *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.*, p. 35.

[2] *EdS.*, p. 194.

parallel lines which constitute the distinctive element in the gunû-signs. The original symbol of a man's strength (îmûḳu), when communicated to a person, object, or action, was the forearm or hand. Of the two signs representing respectively the forearm and hand, naturally the latter, being the simpler, was chosen when a *motif* symbolizing imparted power was required by the sign-maker. Since the original sign for hand was too complex for convenience, it was successively simplified, becoming in turn , or , or , and even or . As might be expected, older forms survived and continued to be used side by side and interchangeably with those which had been more conventionalized.

The use of a familiar sign, whose meaning was well established, as a *motif* in the formation of new signs was in perfect accord with the methods of the sign-maker. Many examples might be cited to demonstrate that this concrete and graphic mode of representing an idea by the combination of different signs was his most striking characteristic. Fortunately Professor Delitzsch has already collected them in his chapter on "Die 180 bekannten Zeichenkomposita,"[1] so that it is only necessary to call attention to some of the representative examples. The sign , representing food, bread, inserted in , *mouth,* gave , *to eat.* Similarly , *to drink,* was made by inserting , *water,* in , *mouth.* The combination of , *ox,* with , *mountain,* gave (rîmu), *ox of the mountain, wild ox.* The sign , *to depress* or *depression,* inserted within , *earth,* gave , *ravine, deep valley;* while the same sign written within , *enclosure,* appears in , *pool, cistern.*

When the sign-maker required an ideogram for male slave, he took the sign for male, man, archaic , and added to it archaic , kašâdu, the character representing conquest and capture, thus creating the sign archaic (ardu), *slave.* Similarly by adding the same sign to the ideogram for female he produced the sign for female slave, archaic (amtu). The

[1] *EdS.*, pp. 41–61

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close parallel between this use of and that of the sign for hand is obvious; each in accord with its respective signification transforms the meaning of the ideogram to which it is appended, the one imparting the idea of dependence and the other that of power.

Several of the most common and at the same time more difficult signs have been selected as suggestive illustrations of the earlier stages in the development of the gunû-sign. It is reasonable to conclude that the discovery of fire preceded that of writing, and if so one of the first things which the primitive sign-makers would desire to represent, would be this wonderful miracle which so fascinated the Oriental of antiquity. In the archaic form of the ideogram for fire one recognizes on the right the sign for instrument or wood, in the middle a character which Professor Delitzsch designates as the "Richtungsmotiv,"[1] while the four lines on the left, which in Penn., II., No. 87, col. ii, and elsewhere appears in the form , are at once identified as the gunû-sign. In the light of the present study, two difficulties connected with Professor Delitzsch's interpretation of this compound ideogram immediately disappear, for the vertical line at the left of the gunû-sign evidently represents a fuller writing of the sign for hand; while the ideogram as a whole instead of consisting of the sign for an instrument or wood and the *Richtungsmotiv*, plus the abstract idea of *Potenzierung*, becomes simple and concrete. The picture is that of a hand, the symbol of power communicated, turned toward the instrument or wood; they, united, vividly suggest the way in which fire was generated by the early man. If we further accept Professor Delitzsch's conclusion that the central character represents the act of turning, the details of the picture become complete.

The sign LAḪ, archaic , with its double significance (1) šukkal-sukallu, *high official, minister*, and (2) laḫmisû, *to wash*, to interpret which Professors Delitzsch and Hilprecht adduce such widely different and conflicting theories, becomes clear when we recognize the symbol of the potent hand, doubled to indicate greater efficiency. In the one case the strong hand, rendered so by the power communicated by the king to his

[1] *EaS.*, p. 178.

servant (*cf.* the idiom "to take one's hand," p. 301), gives a most graphic representation of the high official or minister of the king, while the same elements, the strong hand or hands,—when their energy is applied to the act of cleansing of which they were the universal instruments among primitive men,—give the verb *to wash.* Another slightly different explanation is also possible, if one part of the sign be regarded as the symbol of the ordinary hand, while the other represents the power communicated by the potent hand; in that case the first meaning would be represented by the hand of the minister, rendered strong by the powerful hand of the king, which rests upon it; and the second would be symbolized by the energetic application of the one hand to the other, which is most suggestive of the act of washing.

These two examples illustrate how naturally and simply the hand came to be used as a *motif;* for here it enters into combination with other signs, just as the sign for bread is written within that for mouth in making the familiar character which represents the act of eating, or as the sign for wood or staff is combined with that for bearer to symbolize the bearer of the staff, namely, the shepherd.

The signs , ID, and , ŠÛ. which originally represented the strength of a man, came in time to symbolize not only human strength but also strength in general, as, for example, that of the gods or of natural forces and finally strength in the abstract, irrespective of its source. Naturally the sign for hand, when used as a *motif* in the gunû-signs, passed through the same stages of historical development, until it became a conventionalized symbol of the increase or *Potenzierung* of the idea represented by the simple sign. In the light of its origin and signification it is obvious why it frequently transformed a simple into an intensive verb. In some instances also an intransitive is changed into a transitive verb. For example the archaic sign , according to II R. 39, 47*e*, has the value si-malû, *to fill* and *be full.* S^c 66 gives as an equivalent of si-gunû (new Assyrian , dar) šûtturu, which is from יתר *to be in excess, to surpass the usual amount*, and hence *to be huge, to be distinguished,*[1] which in the šaph'ēl always has a transitive meaning,

[1] *Cf.* Del. *HWB.* 248*b*; *EAS.* 67.

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namely, *to add to*, *to make greater*, *to give*.[1] This change is explained when it is remembered that the gunû-*motif* symbolizes itself a force in action (originally the potent hand), which is fundamentally transitive and therefore sufficient to render transitive the verb upon which its influence is exerted.

In passing, the striking analogy which exists between the change in meaning represented by the intensive stems of the Semitic and certain non-Semitic languages and that effected by the gunû-*motif*, is worthy of notice, for it opens up a broad and important field for investigation. On the other hand a knowledge of the origin of the gunû-*motif* furnishes a new key for the more exact interpretation of the many complex characters which bear the mark of the hand communicating power.

In conclusion we may ask, What was the origin of the term "gunû"? Since it was the designation of one of the earliest *motifs* used by the primitive sign-maker, it is probable that its origin is to be sought in the ancient Sumerian rather than the later Babylonian or Assyrian. Professor Sayce's conjecture that the term is derived from the Sumerian gun, *tail*,[2] must be abandoned together with his untenable theory adduced to explain the origin of the gunû-signs. Professor Delitzsch is clearly far nearer the truth when he traces its derivation to the Sumerian gun, which, according to S^b 369 (*cf.* II R. 38, 14–18*e*) is synonymous with the Assyrian biltu.[3] In support of his theory of the origin of the gunû-signs he prefers to derive it from the secondary meaning of biltu, which is that of "burden," *Last*, translating the term gunû *Beschwerung*. In view of the evident antiquity of the word it is, however, antecedently much more probable that it is to be associated with the primary and far more common meaning of "tribute, gift." Every Assyrian scholar will recall the recurring phrase biltu u mandattu, in which biltu is used parallel with mandattu, *that which is given by one to another*, *a gift*. The original and prevailing meaning of the verb ובל, from which biltu is derived, is "to bring something." In its primary use biltu designates—as Professor Delitzsch himself states[4]—"was man

[1] *Cf.* V R. 3, 77; Neb. Grot. I. 15.

[2] *Lectures upon the Assyrian Language*, p. 154.

[3] *EdS.*, p. 66.

[4] *HWB.*, p. 232, *a*

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darbringt." The fundamental meaning of gun-biltu, therefore, is not that of *Beschwerung*, but of bringing and giving something. Hence the guniring of a simple sign indicates that something has been added to the idea represented by it. A more appropriate term could not be found to describe the gunû-*motif* which symbolizes the impartation of power through the potent hand.

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Contributed Notes.

A CURIOUS MISTAKE.

In the Babylonian Talmud (Bekh. 8*b*) the sages of Athens are said to have asked R. Joshua ben Ḥananjah among other puzzling questions the following: ורצוצא (or ורציצא) דמית מהיכא נפיק רוחיה *if a pullet die while still within the egg how can its soul come out?* The Rabbi's answer, מהיכא דעל *by the same way it came in*, shows his strength in repartee.

The 'Arûkh (*s. v.* רצץ) quotes this question, omitting the initial ו. Whether this omission is due to the author of the 'Arûkh or to the copyist from whose text he quoted, it is in any case evident that the initial ו was taken to be the conjunctive particle. All Talmudic commentators and lexicographers have since followed the 'Arûkh and I myself have quoted a word, רציצא, a by-form of רצוצא, in my grammar, § 81.* But a glance at the Syriac equivalent of our word ܪܘܙܡܝܐ or ܪܘܙܙܐ shows that the ו is the first stem-consonant and that a word רציצא does not exist. The word is evidently etymologically connected with Arab. وَرَصَ *to lay an egg with one push.*

A curiosity of another kind seems to represent the Talmudic word אוסיא *nose, nostrils.* Levy connects this word with the Latin "os" *mouth*, Greek ὄσσε *the two eyes;* Kohut sees in it Greek οὖς *ear* or ῥίς *nose;* Jastrow connects it with Hebrew אַף. In my opinion the word represents the Assyrian uzzu *wrath.* The word came to mean *nose* by analogy with the Hebrew אַף which includes both meanings.

A somewhat analogical case is presented by the use of German *gleichen* for *gerne haben*, heard among American Germans, which is due to the double meaning of the English word "to like."

Another word אוסיא, meaning a certain quarter of meat, is evidently Assyrian asîtu, a part of the body coming in pairs, probably *thigh*, *ham*

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* *Cf.* AJSL.; Vol. XIII., p. 46.

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Book Notices.

THE NEW STUDY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR.*

To all appearance the study of Arabic grammar is about to enter upon a new stage of development. Up till now with few, and these only slight, exceptions European grammarians have been content to take the materials, the methods and the hypotheses of the native writers and arrange and recast them only to the extent absolutely necessary for the purposes of western teaching. It is easy to see how this must have been so from the necessities of the case. The books were there ready to act as guides and it would have been folly to turn from them and attempt to reconstruct Arabic grammar anew from the texts as we have been compelled to do in the case of Assyrian and Egyptian. Thus when Clenardus, the scholar and traveler of the Renaissance, studied Arabic in Spain in the early 16th century, it is easy to recognize under his Gurremia and Abulcasin that aṣ-Ṣanhājī and az-Zamakhsharī were his guides. And so, too, that same "Gurremia" which smoothed his way has, through many editions at Rome, at Leyden, at Breslau and at Oxford, furnished again and again the needed clue to the labyrinth of case and mood.

But the most striking thing in all this is the length of time during which Europe has been willing to walk in the leading-strings of the East. It is now considerably more than two centuries since the science of Arabic grammar was founded in the West by Erpenius at Leyden, Martellotus at Rome, and Pocock and Castell in England, but our grammarians are still traveling in the old paths and only lately has there appeared for 'Amr some hope of escape from the beating of Zayd. On the title-page of Lumsden's great and strangely neglected work, published at Calcutta in 1813, stands that it is "according to the principles taught and maintained in the schools of Arabia," and the same might have stood on the title-page of every grammar of Arabic published in Europe. Through the illustrious succession of Erpenius and Martellotus, de Sacy and Fleischer and all the school of Fleischer, for there are few Arabists that have not sat at his feet, we have "the principles of the schools of Arabia" in greater or less purity, expanded and deepened it may be, but still from the eastern founts. The commanding and original genius of Ewald broke away to some extent from these trammels—if he had lived to give the promised second edition of his *Grammatica critica linguæ arabicæ* much more would have been done—and it is, perhaps, fitting that a pupil and the pupil of a pupil of Ewald should now be making the first

*Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch, von Theodor Nöldeke. Wien, 1896. In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn. 114 pp.; 4to. [*Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Band XLV.]

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decided movements in the new direction. It is true that there have been mutterings of doubt and even absolute schisms on the value to be allowed to the hypotheses of the Arabic grammarians, as in the duel we have just witnessed between Howell and de Goeje, but such a distinct breaking of the old ties as is evidenced by Nöldeke's *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch* is a new and a welcome phenomenon.

But once we have thrown aside with the theories of the native grammarians the collections of examples made by them, the question rises of the basis for our new system of grammar. The classical period of Arabic is generally regarded as having closed with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and we must then ask what of the texts professing to go back so far is genuine and trustworthy for grammatical purposes. Among these texts Nöldeke rightly puts the Qur'ān. Wellhausen's somewhat absurd *obiter dictum* that it is written "in einem ganz unarabischen Arabisch" he rejects with the over-mild criticism that that is "etwas zu schroff." It is certainly *a priori* indefensible to call any form of early Arabic literature un-Arabic if our ignorance of the forms actually assumed by the language in its first stages be considered. The greater bulk of that literature consists of poems and stories of the adventures of the pre-Muslim Arab heroes written in flowing and simple prose. But we have no right to assume that they had no other literary forms in which the language could and did clothe itself, and, in fact, Goldziher in his *Arabische Philologie* has now moved into a clear light the character of the *Saj'* style of Muḥammad and shown that it was simply the style of the *Kāhins* used in oracular, mysterious utterances. But besides the Qur'ān Nöldeke includes in his material most of the poems of the classical period except those from the court at Damascus which seem to show traces of linguistic degeneration and those which are characterized by forced obscurity and individual expressions; it would obviously be dangerous to take some phrases from Browning as illustrations of ordinary English speech. Further, he includes the stories of the adventures of the early Arabs and the traditions of the life of the Prophet; traditions, legal and otherwise, in the formal sense, he does not regard as of the same value—they run the risk of being couched, not in the language of nature, but in that of law and theology.

In form Nöldeke's work is strictly a collection of materials arranged and with a commentary. It is a contribution only, perhaps, rather, a bundle of contributions, and does not profess to be in any sense a systematic development of Arabic grammar. The title runs *Zur Grammatik* and the "Zur" reappears with most of the sections. Further, it consists to a great extent of what native grammarians would regard as "exceptions." Whether the writer had it in view or not his attitude has been to gather up what ran in the teeth of the rules rather than what illustrated them. Confessedly he is less in sympathy with the views of the native grammarians than most European Arabists. But that attitude was certainly the best for the work which he has here done. We want now to get the facts of the language straight from the language without

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fear or favor. And an at least agnostic position towards previous hypotheses is the best with which to set out on such a quest.

By far the greater part of the book is devoted to syntax. Pp. 5–13 are *Zur Lautlehre;* pp. 13–29, *Zur Formenlehre,* and all the rest, some 84 pages, *Zur Syntax.* It is obviously impossible to work in detail through such a collection of examples and exceptions as this, but I have marked a few points which struck me as of special interest, always a very subjective matter. On p. 8 the insertion of ـَٔـ to break up a long vowel before a double consonant is noted as in شَأَبَّة for شَابَّة and the subject is developed until it becomes possible that, *e. g.*, اطْمَأَنَّ may be for اطْمَانَّ and thus kin to טמן. On pp. 10, 11, 25 the early falling away of the اعراب, with some causes that led up to it, is noticed in a luminous fashion. On p. 26 a new meaning of the iii verbal stem is shown, as causative to the vi stem, *e. g.*, تابع بين, "he made to follow one after the other;" جاور بين, "he made to be *jārs* one to the other." If the same verbs are then used transitively we have the explanation of ضاعف, "he doubled," etc., and in time ساقط comes very near in meaning to أسقط [*cf.* Lumsden, p. 181]. On p. 28 there comes a meaning of the iv stem of interest to the Hebraist; it is to express consent to, the entering upon, what is indicated by the i stem. Thus أطلب, "to grant a request;" أنشد, "to point out what is sought;" أصرخ, "to give help at a cry," and al-Jawharī gives أسأل in the sense of أطلب but without quotations. [Are these not cases of السلب ?] This at once recalls the Hebrew השאיל from שאל and can be added in its defence to the Aramaic ܐܫܐܠ, אשאיל. This section meets the question which Wellhausen raised in his review of Reckendorf in the *Gött. gelehr. Anz.*, 158, x, p. 775. In the same review he dealt with the relation of أنّ to إنّ and suggested that أنّ is only the oblique—I confess I don't know exactly what that means. Nöldeke on p. 40 can think of no other explanation of the construction of أنّ than the analogy of the similarly sounding إنّ to which he gives nearly verbal force. On p. 57 he touches on the celebrated *crux* at the beginning of Imr al-Qays' Mu'allaqa poem where بين is continued with ف, but cuts the knot by taking ف as here practically equivalent to و. On p. 68 comes a section of the highest interest to the Hebraist. There the existence is proved in early Arabic of a construction exactly parallel to the Hebrew wāw conversive with the Imperfect,

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e. g., فَأَقْبَلْتُ فَأَجِدُ, "then I advanced and found;" وَضَرَبَهَا ضَرْبًا شَدِيدًا وَيَقُولُ, "and he struck her hard and said." Many other instances are quoted, but all from early Arabic—later, the usage, never frequent, died out—and the exactness of the parallel with the Hebrew construction is evident. The question which still remains is whence the peculiar heavy pronunciation of the Hebrew form וַיִּקְטֹל has sprung. In this connection a Hebrew-Arabic illustration of the contrast of the Perfect and Imperfect given on p. 66 may be worth quoting: Gen. 16:8, אי מזה באת ואנה תלכי is compared with Arabic من أين أقبلت وإلى أين تمضي. Nöldeke notes that of the old Aramaic versions only the Samaritan preserves the force of the forms. Very many other points of interest could be picked out. I will only refer further to the passage on p. 85 where the doubt as to number and gender in Arabic is touched and rightly traced to a confusion of the feminine and broken plural forms.

It is needless to say that every line in the book shows the hand of a master. It is a book which cannot be reviewed in any ordinary sense; its importance and method can only be indicated. It will be for the Arabic study of the future to take it up, assimilate it and push its methods further; then we may hope in time to have an Arabic grammar on modern principles. This involves no disrespect to the native grammarians—I probably think more highly of them, their principles and their knowledge than does Professor Nöldeke—but their system has crystallized and become traditional and it is time to go back to the sources. What has been begun in lexicography by Dozy and his critics and followers, had to be begun in grammar and here we have the beginning.

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THE DRAMA IN MODERN ARABIC.*

The impossible is happening and there is to be a drama in Arabic. How tremendous is the literary revolution involved it is not easy to express. Through its thirteen centuries of life and in spite of the luxuriant richness and ever renewed freshness of the forms in which that life clothed itself, one form has always been lacking in the Arabic literature,—the form of the drama. In the narrative-dialogue and shapeless action of al-Ḥarīrī Arabic made its nearest approach to the field in which the chief glories of western literature have been won, but how distant and faltering was that approach, how essential was the failure to grasp the possibility and to advance from the most elementary of character-sketching and of situation-building, no reader of the *Maqāmāt* needs to

* MADRASET EL'AZWĀG, Comödie von Moḥammad Bey 'Osmān Galāl, transcribiert und aus dem Arabischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. phil. M. Sobernheim. Berlin: *S. Calvary & Co.*, 1896. 128 pp.; 8vo.

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be told. Why this should have been so is a problem in racial psychology yet unsolved. We may guess at it and spin our theories, but the fact remains hard,—there has been no drama in Arabic.

Yet, assuredly, a drama is coming, though of what type lies still in the future. Will the Arab playwright accept our western forms and mold his work on the practice of the French stage and the theories of Aristotle, Goethe, Lessing, and Coleridge? It would be possible to draw a parallel with what has happened in Turkish literature, into which the French drama and the French novel have been taken with hardly a change, but the evident difference in mental attitude between the Semite and the Turk renders such a comparison unfruitful and misleading. That is shown by the very state of the case at present. The Egyptian in Cairo and the Turk in Constantinople came under French literary influence practically at the same time, but while during the past half century there has grown up in the one place what is simply a branch of French literature written in a Turkish largely adulterated with French words and idioms, in the other we have the solitary translator whose rendering of one of Molière's plays now lies before us in transcription and translation.

Moḥammad Bey 'Osmān Galāl, to adopt Dr. Sobernheim's transliteration, was born in Cairo in 1829. He studied French as a boy, became at an early age government translator and in 1857 published his first translation, of Lafontaine's Fables. That was followed in 1868 by St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and in 1873 by the *Tartuffe* of Molière. In 1890 this last was republished in an improved form along with three other of Molière's comedies, *Les Femmes Savantes*, *L'École des Maris*, and *L'École des Femmes*. Since then have appeared translations of Racine's *Esther*, *Iphigénie*, and *Alexandre le Grand*. Some of these have already been put upon the stage both at Cairo and at Alexandria. Attention was first drawn to him by an article by Vollers in the *ZDMG*. for 1891. There the *Tartuffe* was transcribed with a glossary and life of the author, but, unfortunately, a translation was not added. In the next volume of the *ZDMG*. appeared "Bemerkungen" by Socin on the metre, pronunciation and emendation of the text. Now Dr. Sobernheim has transliterated and translated into German, with introduction and glossary, the Arabized rendering of the *École des Maris*. His work seems to have been very carefully done. Besides the transcription and translation, his principal contribution is to have made clear that the metre used is a modification of the native *ragez* and not a modification of the Alexandrine as Socin thought. This he has determined on the authority of Moḥammad 'Osmān Galāl himself.

I have little to give by way of criticism. There are too many contractions; the room saved cannot have been a page at the most and the reader is often compelled to turn back and hunt for the meaning of some combination of letters. There are, also, rather too many misprints, but the transliteration seems fairly clear of them. In line 471 kediš is not simply *Mähre;* it means a low-bred horse and that is the point of Budūr's ill-nature. Other exceptions might be taken, but I prefer to

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dwell rather on the value of Dr. Sobernheim's little pamphlet. Every Arabist, now, desires to know something at least of the modern dialects. Their value for the understanding even of classical texts and for the study of comparative Semitic is undenied. Further, such knowledge is essential for the study of the Islām of the present day and all its multitudinous and momentous questions. But until within a few years the only way of approach to these dialects for the Arabist who could not spend a considerable time in the East was through the different texts of *The 1001 Nights*. These texts had almost all been "edited" and "improved" and brought into pseudo-literary form—with the partial exception of that of Habicht and Fleischer—and thus rendered useless for the student of things as they are. Further, who could tell what were the sounds, especially the vowels, that lay behind the blank skeleton of consonants? All that is now changed. We have Spitta's and Vollers' grammars of Egyptian Arabic; we have Socin and Landberg for Syria; we have Stumme for Tunis; we have Spitta's transliterated and translated prose texts; we have Vollers' transliteration of the *Tartuffe;* and now we have this transliteration and, better still, translation by Dr. Sobernheim. It is safe to say that between Spitta, Vollers and Dr. Sobernheim, to say nothing of contributions by Socin, Stumme, Sachau and others, the home-staying student may add to his knowledge of classical Arabic at least some acquaintance with the dialects of today which have developed from that.

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MARTI'S ARAMAIC GRAMMAR.*

The book to be reviewed is one of the best numbers of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* and sets forth the elements of the biblical Aramaic. It contains 128 pages of grammatical principles, 4 of literature, 14 of paradigms, 34 of text (comprising all the biblical passages), 39 of glossary.

In the preface, Dr. Marti announces his purpose to treat the grammatical principles concisely but thoroughly, and he attains his object in a remarkable degree throughout the orthography, etymology, and syntax. He shows everywhere an acquaintance with the latest researches in this field. Compare the remarks on the jussive (pp. 34, 50, 65). Special contributions are found in the syntax. For particular commendation also we would select the textual notes and the glossary. In the text are very happy emendations, some of them of course adopted from other authors. Examples of such corrections are the *insertion* of סומפניה (Dan. 3:7^{16}†), אדין (Dan. 5:10^{1}); the *excision* of וכפרזלא די מרעע (Dan. 2:40), בנגהא

* Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache: Litteratur, Paradigmen, Kritisch Berichtigte Texte und Glossar von D. Karl Marti, ord. Professor an der Universität Bern. Berlin: *Verlag von Reuther & Reichard;* London: *Williams & Norgate;* New York: *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1896. xiv + 134 + 90 pp.; 12mo. M. 3.60; bound, M. 4.40.

† Daniel 3:7, sixteenth word.

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(Dan. 6:20), וחזוי ראשה על משרבה (Dan. 7:1), ענה דניאל ואמר (Dan. 7:2), שְׁמֵהּ (Ezr. 5:14), בבבל (Ezr. 6:1), פחת יהודיא (Ezr. 6:7), להשניה (Ezr. 6:12), last twelve words of Ezr. 6:14); the *removal* of חספא from Dan. 2:45[15] to Dan. 2:45[13], לשבי יהודיא to first half-verse (Ezr. 6:7); the *alteration* of גדבריא to הדבריא (Dan. 3:2), תַּחְתוֹהִי to תְּחֹתוֹהִי (Dan. 4:11), עד to על (Dan. 4:14), שנוהי to שנו עלוהי (Dan. 5:6), מְפַשַּׁר to מְפַשַּׁר and מְשָׁרֵא to מְשָׁרֵא (Dan. 5:12), וִיקָרֵהּ to וִיקָרָה (Dan. 5:20), בְּגוֹ נִדְנֶה to בְּגִין דְּנָה (Dan. 7:15), דִּינָיֵא to דִּינָיֵא, טַרְפְּלָיֵא to טַרְפְּלָיֵא, דֶּהָיֵא to דהוא or דִּי הוּא *that is* (Ezr. 4:9) [the whole expression *that is, the Elamites*, Marti regards as an explanatory gloss], די מ׳ די בבבל to די מלכא תמה די בבבל׳ (Ezr. 5:17), תְּקָרֵב to וְתַקְרֵב (Ezr. 7:17).

The glossary likewise embodies the results of the most recent research in lexicography both in the Iranian and in the Shemitic fields. Examples are seen in אַזְדָּא *information, notice*, כרבלא *cap*, מְנֵא *Mina*, תְּקֵל *shekel.*

Of this high praise we retract nothing when we call attention to certain infelicities in the book. First, there is the lack, so common in German books, of sharp and definite statements without parenthetical additions. For example, in 64*b* (p. 62) the statement in parentheses should be in a separate paragraph in fine type or in a footnote. Example of defective analysis may be found on pages 15 and 16, where, in a section on the commutation of consonants, *a* explains the changes of ו to י and of א and י, while *b* gives examples of the latter, and *c* examples of ה to א. On p. 93 it is not a happy thought to arrange the *so-called* (but probably wrongly called) masculine forms of the numerals 3–10 in the masculine column with חד, etc.

There are type-errors in the volume; *e. g.*, in the text of Ezr. 4:15 יִתְבַּקַּד appears in place of יִתְבַּקַּר; in Par. X, line 1, הוֹדַעְ: in place of הוֹדַעְ:. In the transliteration of the *Beghadhkephath* (Marti, *Begadkephath*) letters, many corrections should be introduced; *e. g.*, tancheth for tanchet (pp. 15, 54), kĕthībh for kĕthīb (p. 16), hochorĕbath for hochorĕbat (p. 21), Hithpĕ'el for Hitpĕ'el (p. 23), jajṭabh, jaiṭabh for jajṭab, jaiṭab (p. 54). In the transliterations of vowels, the symbols used are inadequate and sufficient care has not been taken to ensure uniformity of use. The principle of the author seems to be to designate *short* vowels and *tone-long* vowels by the simple Latin form, *half-vowels* by the Latin form with the usual indication of short vowels (˘) and *naturally-long* vowels by the same with straight lines over them. The author, however, specifically designates *tone-long* vowels with the straight line (pp. 8, 15, 24, 62, 71, 77, 85), and the writer has observed such inconsistencies as Dageš (pp. 17, 44) and Dāgēš (p. 66), Chaṭēph (p. 43) and Chāṭēph (p. 60). The book is the best manual now in use.

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NEUMANN'S ZWEI BLÄTTER AUS EINER SAMAR. PENTATEUCH-HANDSCHRIFT.*

The "zwei Blätter" are two parchment leaves that were submitted to Professor Neumann. They apparently were once used in the binding of a book and are said to have been sent to Vienna from Cæsarea in Cappadocia by an Armenian priest. They are considered to be of the sixth or seventh Christian century and somewhat older, rather than younger, than the definitely dated codex of A. H. 35 (A. D. 655–656) of which Rosen gave representations in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band XVIII. (1864). The ancient manuscript referred to is now in my possession and I have found that the alleged facsimiles are very incorrect and show several modernisms not present in the original. This fact destroys the basis of Neumann's attribution of great age to the Vienna fragments, and any other assignment of a date that may be made will be extremely uncertain in the present state of development of this branch of Semitic palæography.

These leaves contain in ordinary Samaritan characters the Hebrew text of Lev. 19:31–20:24 and 25:10–41 as given in the London Polyglot with, as usual, some variations. All deviations from the standard of comparison, including those connected with the use of *matres lectionis*, should have been recorded. The author is in error in supposing that the text is probably divided according to "that old division of the Pentateuch into 154 paraschae which the Jews formerly had"; the system of paragraphing followed is that in common use with the Samaritans, by which the Law is made to consist of 965 sections of various lengths. (On p. 6 it is said that a section ends with Lev. 20:24, but the plate does not support the statement and that is not usually a point of division.) The presence of a ס after Lev. 25:28 "exactly as in the Massoretic text" is peculiar: it would be interesting to know to what style of alphabet it belongs and whether it is certainly from the first scribe.

The latter part of this paper treats of the relation to each other of the two forms (Massoretic and Samaritan) of the Hebrew text and the ancient versions of the Pentateuch. It does not contribute much that is new towards the solution of this important problem.

W. Scott Watson.

Towerhill (*Guttenberg P. O.*), N. J.

* Studien über zwei Blätter aus einer alten Samar. Pentateuch-Handschrift. Von Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Anton Neumann. Abhandlungen aus dem Jahrbuche der Leo-Gesellschaft, 1896. Vienna, 1896. 8vo; cover with title + 22 pp. + 1 plate.

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Again, take the case of the man who occupies in German life the same place as the Sage of Concord in American life. All told, Goethe's writings comprise seventy compact volumes. Emerson himself, in one of those delightful letters he wrote to Carlyle, tells how, after years of effort, he has "he has succeeded in getting through thirty-five," and despairs of the other half! But who, even among those who call themselves well read, have despatched thirty-five volumes of the great German, or even half or third of thirty-five? Nevertheless,

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we do not like to remain without at least a general and historical view of Goethe's tremendous activity, and, furthermore, if we go beyond "Faust" or "Wilhelm Meister," we are—the most of us—lost in a sea of conjecture as to which of the remaining sixty-eight volumes we shall attack.

How happily has Mr. Warner here come to our relief! He has chosen, to prepare the Goethe section for the Library, no less a scholar than Prof. Edwin Dowden of Dublin, the President of the Goethe Society of England. The assignment was most fitting, as no Englishman since Carlyle is so well versed in all that pertains to the great German, none knows better of his strength and power, none better his shortcomings and his weaknesses. Here we have the distilled essence of his criticism, together with Professor Dowden's choice of what is of paramount and lasting value in the legacy Goethe has left to us.

Professor Evans, of Munich, performs for us a like service with Schiller. Prof. Maurice Francis Egan does the same with Calderon. Prof. Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard with Dante. Prof. Santayana with Cervantes. The historian Lecky with Gibbon. Charlton T. Lewis with Bacon, and so on. Never, it seems to us, was so much talent, such an array of eminent names pressed into service for the production of such compact and pregnant exposition and criticism.

It would be a great mistake, however, to believe that the new Library which Mr. Warner and his associates have prepared has to do with nothing but the "classics." Here, for instance, is Dumas the elder. Who is there that has not fallen a victim to the stirring romances of "The Three Musketeers" and their extensive kin? Many of us, when we have once got into their companionship, hardly know where to stop. But we do not want to be misled into reading an immense number of worthless and mediocre stories that Dumas, in the burst of his fame, was led to palm off as his own, though they were in reality the work of others. There never was a more delightful "professor of books" than Andrew Lang, and we doubt if there is any one living who could tell us so much as he has told us in the Library of what is interesting and what we wish to know of Dumas.

We cross from the field of romance over into that of poetry, and the first name we chance upon is that of Wordsworth, one of the greatest poets who ever lived—no one questions that. And yet what great poet ever left so much fine wheat mixed with so much chaff? Dr. R. H. Hutton, the editor of the London *Spectator*, and one of the sanest and most appreciative of living critics, has chosen for this Library the best of Wordsworth's poetry, and has planned such further journeys through the poet's writings as the reader may wish to take.

And so we might go on. But we think we have made clear to the reader that which struck us so forcibly when we looked into the Emerson section, namely, how finely Mr. Warner has, in his Library, succeeded in satisfying the great want which Emerson there so well voiced—that of a "professor of books." Exactly as the professor of chemistry or physics or astronomy or biology gives the student a view of the whole field of his seience, the summary of its achievements, its great names and its great works, so Mr. Warner and his associates have given us the distillation not merely of the whole world's literature, in itself a colossal attempt, but, in addition, its history, biography, and criticism as well. It is only when we grasp its full import that we realize the truly vast and monumental character of the Library. It must assuredly rank as one of the most notable achievements of the century.

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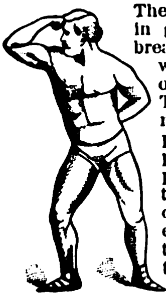

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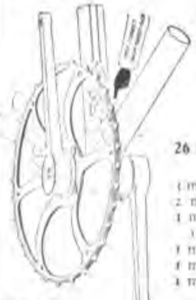

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